

GLADSTONE TO HIS WIFE

Edited by

A. TILNEY BASSETT

With Eight Plates

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ERRATUM

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(*By courtesy of Mr. W. H. Spielmann*)

should read

(*By courtesy of Mr. M. H. Spielmann*)

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INTRODUCTION

EXTENDING over a period of some fifty-five years, the correspondence between William Ewart Gladstone and his wife Catherine is a notable contribution to the history of events, political and social, during the Victorian era. It is common knowledge that their marriage was one long romance, and that their companionship of sixty years was a record of devotion one to the other which has seldom been equalled. And so it was that the periods of enforced separation rendered necessary by the exigencies of a statesman's life or by the cares of a family at Hawarden were the severest trials to husband and wife. The letters, from which extracts are given in this volume, number some thousands, and not one of them but testifies to the strain which such absences meant to both. The joy expressed in Catherine Gladstone's letters when a lull in public affairs allowed the Prime Minister to announce his approaching return or when she was able to go to him in Downing Street was only equalled by what Gladstone himself described as the 'schoolboy excitement' with which he welcomed any opportunity, consistent with his duties to the State, that enabled him to return to that most beloved of homes, Hawarden Castle. 'I could almost jump out of my skin, as the saying is, at the thought of freedom! A boy's vacation is nothing to it.' At all other times pen and ink had to be the bridge between them, and no day passed without its message. Despite his work—and who ever worked harder?—Gladstone, when away from home, not only never missed a day's post, but on occasions when events were moving rapidly wrote twice or even three times in the twenty-four hours. Written, as they must have been, under great

pressure and in the midst of affairs, Gladstone's letters to his wife cannot and ought not to be regarded from a literary point of view as those of a great letter-writer. With him, to quote Lord Morley, 'the pen was no instrument of diversion', time was precious and opportunities for writing, perhaps on the bench of the House of Commons or in the train, had to be seized as they came along. For all that, his letters were never scribbled and abbreviations were rare. Except in moments of the greatest haste, when initials were used, each letter ended with the somewhat formal signature 'W. E. Gladstone' with 'Mrs. W. Gladstone' at the foot of the page. Meticulous as he was in everything, the latter became 'Mrs. Gladstone' ('not now W', he wrote) when the deaths of his brothers' wives rendered the initial unnecessary. As the figures already given indicate, the amount of actual handwriting involved in this correspondence alone is enormous, but it forms but the merest fraction of the material which came from his pen. Despite his long life, it will ever be a source of wonder that any one man, and a man too whose occupations and interests led him so far afield, could have left behind him the mass of script which is now preserved in the British Museum. The writing habit was one which endured to the end. One of his last labours, continued to the year of his death, resulted in a manuscript some fifteen inches thick and optimistically endorsed by him 'Materials for my forthcoming work on Homeric Deities'. Nor was Gladstone a rapid penman. An examination of his writing, which the uninitiated may find some difficulty in reading, will show that each letter has been formed distinctly and even laboriously. But lack of speed in penmanship was balanced by the continuity with which he wrote. Whether it was a letter to the Queen, a State document, the outlines of a Bill, or a Cabinet memorandum, there

was no halting, and the effect on one who watched him was that of a man who was copying another document or else writing down something which he knew by heart.

But what a contrast were the letters of Catherine Gladstone. As with all her enterprises—her orphanage, her convalescent home—a seeming lack of method, a want of orderliness, appeared by some miraculous means to attain the object sought for with a success which others adopting more rule of thumb measures often failed to achieve, and so it was with what she wrote. Taking the first scrap of paper that came to her hand, she was wont to 'dash off', to use her own expression, in a far from tidy handwriting, letters which were the delight of all who received them. Her extraordinary gift of expression, her faculty of making one word do duty for a sentence and, above all, her originality resulted in pen-pictures of people and places which were as full of life as was Mrs. Gladstone herself. Unfortunately these very qualities lose much of their effect in print, but, as will be seen from the letters which are quoted, she could, when her feelings were deeply stirred, use her pen with remarkable prescience.

A point which cannot fail to impress the reader of these letters is the perfect confidence with which at all times the Prime Minister entrusted his wife with political secrets and the absolute reliance which he placed on their being safe in her keeping. That he was justified in so doing there can be no doubt. One who knew Mrs. Gladstone intimately for many years has written: 'Her discretion as to public secrets, *of which she knew all*, was really extraordinary; she was willing, if necessary, to allow herself in conversation to appear almost a fool, in order to conceal the fact of her knowledge.' But a more convincing testimony is to be found in a letter written by Gladstone himself after his final

retirement from public life. In 1895 Lord Rosebery, writing to him upon a highly confidential matter, had headed his letter 'Secret' in unusually large letters. In reply Gladstone wrote: 'Your capitals are not thrown away upon me. But for them I might have shown them [enclosures] to my wife, who for all my life since marriage has known everything and never once has *leaked*.' Lord Rosebery gallantly replied that his 'portentous SECRET' was never intended to refer to Mrs. Gladstone.

Unless otherwise indicated, all the letters from which extracts are given in these pages were, as the title runs, written by Gladstone to his wife. The few remaining, given for the sake of continuity, are nearly all concerned with his life at Eton and Oxford, and were addressed, as shown, to his father, Sir John Gladstone, or other near relatives.

The editor acknowledges with gratitude the unrestricted access given by the Gladstone Trustees to the family papers at Hawarden Castle and renders thanks to Mr. G. S. Gibbons for much information about Eton matters.

A. T. B.

ZELLIDJA, LE CANNET

June 1936

I. ETON AND OXFORD

'Oh, if anything mortal is sweet, my Eton years have been 'so,' wrote the eighteen-year-old Gladstone in his diary as he 'sat down with a heavy heart to write an account of his last 'Eton day', and in a letter to his sister Anne, written when 'this time to-morrow I shall be no Etonian', he adds, 'I never, 'never can forget the immeasurable delight which I have received 'from my Eton life'. Such testimonies are frequent in his correspondence of the time, nor did his devotion to his old school become less as youth gave way to age. When close on his seventieth year, he told an Eton audience that his love for the 'queen of schools' had never slackened, but had increased with the progress of the years.¹ As a boy Gladstone seems to have settled into school life and slang rapidly. Within a fortnight of his going to Eton he tells an aunt that he is 'sapping' furiously, and his accounts of school fights are given with zest and a wealth of detail. At school his favourite recreation was sculling. He kept his own boat and had a 'lock-up'. In the interval between Eton and Oxford this outdoor exercise gave way to wood-turning, and his diary records with some pride an occasion when he had successfully made a box of *lignum vitae* on the lathe.

When 'dear Oxford' succeeded Eton a second lifelong attachment was formed—the one of his boyhood and the other of his early manhood. But the wrench of leaving Eton was not soon to be got over. An early entry in his Oxford diary brings this to light. 'Walked beyond Nuneham,' he writes, 'It is a pleasure to me even to walk on the road which leads 'to Eton, as renewing associations of memory and connection 'in imagination.' But Oxford soon claimed him as her own and held him to her until seventy years later, when on his death-bed, he dictated to his daughter Helen his last most noble and loving message to the University.²

¹ Address on Homer, 1878. The occasion was brought about by the late Lord Curzon of Kedleston, then Captain of the Oppidans and President of the Eton Literary Society, who 'greatly daring' had written to Gladstone asking him to give a lecture at Eton. ² Morley's *Life*, Vol. III, p. 528.

The letters which follow are but a few specimens from amongst hundreds from school and college which have been preserved.

To his Father

ETON COLLEGE. *Nov. 1821*

Many thanks for your kind letter, which I received this morning. I shall most willingly follow your advice with respect to Dr. Keate,¹ and my Dame,² and I shall carefully endeavour to avoid any expressions with regard to them, of which you might doubt the propriety. I have not been flogged, or even had my first fault: for I find it easy enough to avoid it with regard to my lessons, although not at all easy with regard to other things. My tutor³ might have had me flogged for not being at construing, which I did not know of—but on my going to him, and telling him the true state of the case, I never have received any punishment; but always with the good-humoured words, ‘Well, get along with you.’

To his Father

ETON COLLEGE. *June 9. 1822*

I have been more fortunate here than I ever expected; I have got my Remove, been sent up for good again, and taken seven places.

I saw the letter in the *Mercury* *abusing* you, and I think it *infamous*, and stupid. Nothing could I discover in it but virulent abuse; that it was evidently meant

¹ John Keate (1773–1852), Headmaster of Eton. ² Mrs. Shurey.

³ Rev. Henry Hartopp Knapp. He is said to have been an excellent scholar with a passionate love for the theatre and an equal fondness for the ring and the cockpit.

to create dissension and to turn all you have done for Liverpool into nothing, by endeavouring to make it appear that all your exertions were intended to forward your own private interest. But in my humble opinion they made a complete failure.

I have no news, but I thought you would like to hear of my success, which far exceeded the most sanguine expectations which I ever entertained.

ETON COLLEGE. Oct. 1. 1822

To his Father

I must tell you that to-day my poor old Dame left Eton College for *good*, in a chaise with her son George, who has been staying with her for some time: she was evidently affected at leaving us, though I dare say very glad on the whole to be released from all the cares solitudes and troubles of the life which she has for so long a time been accustomed to lead. In fact, infinite are the troubles attending the situation which she held. She abdicated her throne the day before yesterday, and for the few last days the two (Mrs. Stansmore and Mrs. Shurey) have appeared at dinner. Mrs. Stansmore appears rather inclined to be haughty, at least such is the expression of her countenance, which is certainly not the most agreeable I ever saw in my life. She is I believe strict, and she has two sons, very little, who by their noises and fruitless lamentations, render themselves considerable nuisances. She has I believe had the pleasure and the honour of an audience, and even a private and confidential tête à tête with the supreme lord of all things in this part of the country, Dr. Keate, D.D., etc, etc, etc. By the way those et cetera's are very gratifying to him: and your having put them on the back of several notes, is I believe the principal

reason of his having given us leave whenever it has been asked for.—I now scarcely feel the loss of my dear Brother,¹ except that I am a little more lonely.

I question, and so do the rest of the fellows in the house whether the change we have made with regard to *Dames* is for the better; and most of us I think after pretty mature consideration have agreed that she was the most attentive Dame in College, and that the only thing she was the *least* inferior to any other *Dame* in, was as to *Dinners*, in that, to very few indeed, and in *suppers*, the best of them all.

It was of the new Dame, Mrs. Stansmore, that the following lines appeared in the *English Spy* (1825):

When S——e appeared, what a shout rent the air!
The spruce widow affords the most excellent cheer;
For comfort in quarters there's nothing can beat her,
So up rose the lads with a welcome to greet her:
The Muse with true gallantry led her to place,
And Truth said good humour was writ in her face.²

To his Father

ETON COLLEGE. Nov. 24. 1822

I took your kindly written letter to Keate yesterday, but when he had read it, he said, 'Certainly not'. Then he said it was against the rule. It is no more against the rule, than it was to give leave to my brother John.³ Then he called me back, and said, 'Hum, the coach passes through Weybridge on Wednesday evening does it? And does it not likewise pass through every other evening, and Thursday evening? You may

¹ Thomas (afterwards Sir Thomas) Gladstone, whose fag Gladstone had been.

² Reprinted in *Etoniana*, July 1923. ³ John Neilson Gladstone, R.N.

go on 'Thursday evening.' There is very little chance that he will now retract his words and let me go, though it is possible, for when my brother and Parr¹ had leave to London last half, he at first strenuously refused, and afterwards gave it.

To his Father

ETON COLLEGE. *March 7. 1823*

As I promised I would write home in a day or two, and having time to fulfil my promise now, I most gladly address a few lines to you. First, I must gratefully thank my Mother and you for your indulgence, which I shall always to the best of my ability endeavour to deserve, I mean in allowing me to be a servant at Montem. The fellow whom I first thought of being a servant to, has already got one: but there is another whom Parr has very kindly asked to have me, and I suppose I shall be his—I would, however, have you know, that it is a favour done by you (the Lower boy) to the fellow who takes you, as they have sometimes great difficulty in procuring servants. I intend next half year if you have no objection, or my dear Mother, to bring my *tea* with me to Eton—which will not only give me better tea, but save a considerable expense: I am convinced, that they cheat here, not only in the price, but in the weight—they send me a very small parcel indeed, which they call two ounces, and I know they charge either 1s. or 1s. and 1d. for it—Now even supposing they do not cheat in the weight, at that rate we ought to have eight shilling black tea—in place of which, I really think I could get as good for five shillings and sixpence—The tea, which we drink, is the most *wretched stuff* I ever tasted—They charge 1s.

¹ Thomas Clements Parr.

and 3*d.* for the same quantity of Green, and we ought to have ten sh[illin]g Green tea. The sugar is not quite so bad—at least I believe not—for they charge 1*s.* a pound—it is not at all good, but still it would not be worth while to bring that. Now I have computed that I could make my tea much better and stronger, at less expense, by bringing it from home—For you know that two ounces are a *very bad allowance* for a week—In fact our tea, without a mixture of Green, is nothing but *slops*—no more flavour than, and not so pure a taste as water. I have found immense (considering) pieces of *wood* in it—1 inch and $\frac{1}{2}$ or 2 inches long.

To his brother, John Neilson Gladstone

ETON COLLEGE. *May, 29, 1823*

You must know that Montem was celebrated here with the greatest solemnity festivity and jollity last Tuesday week, Whit Tuesday, the 20th Ultimo, of May, A.D. 1823!!! I was what we call a servant, one of those, namely, who follow the sixth form fellows. I had a most beautiful fancy dress which, alas!, in a great measure was spoiled (as to general appearance) by the turban which was made in London whilst I was at Eton. My dress was made by my tailor, a fellow of the name of Pulford, and he did it most beautifully—he undertook to get me a turban and made a horrid failure of it, after its being altered four or five times. He did not make it himself, and to that I attribute the failure. Still it was very unfortunate, as the dress was extremely handsome, *really handsome*. It is called a Mameluke Officer's dress. The waistcoat, which has the sleeves attached to it, is of blue satin—the shoulders have a great deal of ornament on them—the sleeves are

of red satin—and it is very richly ornamented with gold lace, which is very superior to spangles, of which the generality of these dresses are made. The jacket, which is comparatively a slip, is made of crimson velvet, with 2 beautiful tassels hanging down in front. It has also a great deal of gold lace. The breeches are made very full, the material being cambrick. The boots are of red morocco leather. White kid gloves—and that I may not be defenceless, I have a sabre and a dirk both which are very pretty and are suspended in a sash of blue silk, with gold fringes at the ends, about 2 feet wide, which can be made narrow or broad when tied, and the ends of it reach down to the knees.¹ My master's name was Mitford,² a son of Lord Redesdale's—he was next in the school to my brother. The school is getting up again as to numbers and there are now nearly five hundred. There were about 480 at Montem. But at the last Election, which is the time of the year when there are most, there were only 469. The sixth form, servants, and some of the fifth form, breakfast together in Hall, which is the place where the Collegers dine. The crowd crushed us so and there was so little room for us, that we scarcely got any breakfast, and the confusion was terrible. We then marched in procession three times round the school-yard. Then we went slowly to Salt hill, where we got an excellent dinner, which compensated for the bustle, etc., of the breakfast. But the materials for both were good and plentiful. After dinner we walk in the Salt hill garden and have absence. Then we come back to Eton and have absence in the school-yard. We then go on the Terrace at Windsor Castle and parade about there astonishing the weak minds of the natives. I was prevented from going on the terrace and from attending

¹ The dress, sabre and dirk are now in the London Museum.

² John Thomas Freeman-Mitford, afterwards Earl of Redesdale and Speaker of the House of Lords, *d.* 1886.

the last calling over of names in the school-yard by the soreness of my feet. There is a flaming description for you!¹

The length of the foregoing letter to his brother, then at Halifax, Nova Scotia, on board H.M.S. *Sparrow Hawk*, may be judged by the fact that the above is but an extract. The conclusion ran, 'I have copied down for you the beautiful poem of "My Brother's Grave".' Whether young Gladstone's industry in copying out the 190 lines of J. Moultrie's poem was calculated to cheer his sailor brother may be doubted.

The thrill felt by the boy of thirteen at taking part in the Montem celebrations at Eton was not of long duration. Three years later his views have changed and his diary thus refers to the Montem of 1826: 'Day miserably wasted. The whole thing 'a wretched waste of time and money; a most ingenious contrivance for making us appear as baboons; to most or all Eton 'fellows a day of fatigue and a bore in the full sense of the 'word. Hope 'twill soon be abolished.'

To his Father

ETON COLLEGE. *November 3. 1824*

I received your kind letter yesterday, enclosing one from Dear Tom,² on the subject of my entrance at Christ Church. . . . From the faint idea which I am enabled to form of my future profession, I should suppose (am I right?) that it was of consequence to me to begin the study of the law as early as possible.³ Again, I know it to be your wish that I should stay at Eton a considerable time after I get into the sixth form:

¹ The Duke of York, whose funeral is described in a later letter, and the Duke of Wellington, whose colleague in the Cabinet the young Etonian afterwards became, were both present at the festival.

² His brother, *ante*.

³ Gladstone was admitted to Lincoln's Inn on January 25th 1833, and his name remained on the books until April 15th 1839 when it was removed at his request.



ETON MONTEM AND THE MOUNT

From the Drawing by Robert Cruickshank, in 'The English Spy' (1825)

say a year: now, it is most probable that I shall be, (please God) in the sixth form this time two years; that is after the Midsummer holydays. Possibly, I may not get in until Christmas, but then I should think *certainly*. I should then be seventeen; and, allowing until the next Christmas for my stay in the sixth form, eighteen, at the time of leaving. Now I understand you to intend that I should go to College the next term? am I right? in which case, there are only now three years and three months intervening;—from the present time to that of going to Oxford, is not that too short a time to be admitted on? But then if it were necessary that I should go, I might be changed and entered as a G[entleman] C[ommoner], might I not?

A year in the sixth form would almost certainly make me Captain of the Oppidans; which I think I have heard you say you wished me to be. Again, it is better for me that I should be entered as a Commoner, because should anything occur to make that seem disadvantageous, there is still the option of changing but should I be entered as a Gentleman Commoner, and should anything occur to make you repent of it, there would be no method of altering your first determination. And, of course, as Dear Tom says, I have not as yet the means or the ability of judging which would be best for me.

To his Father

ETON COLLEGE. *March 6th, 1825*

I have just witnessed the funeral of poor Ashley:¹ he was buried in a vault beneath the church. The crowd of people admitted was immense, at least for so

¹ A son of Lord Shaftesbury killed in a school fight. The other contestant was accused of manslaughter and acquitted for want of evidence. The incident is referred to in Lord Malmesbury's *Memoirs of an ex-Minister*.

small a place as this. Keate read the psalms appointed for the Burial Service, and the second lesson which is also specified, very well and very impressively. The coffin was brought into the church and placed in nearly the middle of the great aisle which runs up the centre just before the service began. The sermon was delivered, and when the prayer had been read the coffin was carried to the place of its destination. I got a place near the grave; and I trust that the whole of this lamentable train of circumstances may long remain impressed on our memories, and produce a beneficial effect on us. Keate read the Burial service, and really seemed much affected. My Tutor (who was also Ashley's) was chief mourner; O'Reilly, the surgeon, was the other mourner. No relation or friend of the deceased's was present to see him committed to the dust—to the last—melancholy home. My Tutor was exceedingly afflicted—indeed he has been so during the whole time which has elapsed since he first heard the news that poor young Ashley was dead.

To his Father

ETON COLLEGE. *Jan. 21. 1827*

I hope you will hear to-morrow morning of my safe arrival at Eton, as you expected. I follow my letter announcing it with a second very quickly, in order to tell you all I know about the Duke of York's funeral. The procession arrived in Windsor about nine—two hours sooner than was expected: the service was over by half-past ten. After marching between three files of soldiers on each side, (every third man of whom carried a wax taper,) twice round the Antechapel, they went into the Chapel. The music was beautiful; but few or none admitted to the Chapel itself, except those

in the procession. The bells were tolled, and guns fired at stated intervals in the Long Walk during the day. The concourse of people in Windsor was immense; And no one was admitted, even into the Castle Yard, without a ticket. We were not allowed to go—our Provost¹ and Keate, it is said, wished that we should go, but the Dean of Windsor is believed to have been averse to it. Some few of us were fortunate enough to get tickets from those who had them to give, and from one of these I have my information. The immediate expence, they say, of the funeral itself, is estimated at twelve thousand pounds. Of course I could not attempt going without a ticket, tho' I heartily wish I had had one. The Duke of Clarence is said not to have appeared to be in very great grief. The Dukes of Sussex and Glo'ster also attended; and six Dukes carried the Pall. Both Archbishops and many Bishops were present—two of whom were not in their robes, while the others were so, which is singular enough. The Cabinet Ministers followed. I hear that Mr. Canning would not sacrifice so impudently to etiquette as to walk without proper covering, and that he therefore went in a Cloak. The Provost gave us a Sermon to-day—certainly an old stager—which I did not admire at all. In one place he mentioned 'the prudence and vigilance of our excellent headmaster'—or uttered words to that effect—when, as far as I could judge, he was almost laughing. Indeed it is generally understood that there is no love lost between them. And together with a high flown panegyric, or puff, of the deceased Duke, he introduced that singular admonition to us to beware of indulging in prohibited, because dangerous, amusements, amidst the inclemencies of a winter season—adding (he alluded to boating) that in summer it was indulgently winked at. This would

¹ Joseph Goodall (1760–1840).

The cricket match which Gladstone saw—also in Doyle's company—was the second between Oxford and Cambridge, and one of five to be played at Oxford, the rest taking place at Lord's. The first inter-university cricket match took place in 1827 but it was not until 1838 that the fixture became an annual one.

To his Father

CHRIST CHURCH. *June 13. 1829*

On Wednesday last the great boat match between the Universities was pulled at Henley. The Rector furnished a band and ordered the Church bells to ring on the occasion! Oxford was victorious. Staniforth was at the head of the Oxford boat. I went in a carriage with several others, and made out the whole expedition extremely well, being invited to stay, for the day, with a Mrs. Childers who lives by Henley, and has a son¹ here; a very ladylike and agreeable person she is too, and entertained us most hospitably. The match was over about eight in the evening, and we left about nine, and got here before twelve. Yesterday and to-day a cricket match has been played between Oxford and Cambridge—here too we were victorious.² They could not, however, send their best eleven.

The more generally accepted origin of the name 'Apostles', given to the famous Cambridge debating society, to which Tennyson, Arthur Hallam, Monckton Milnes, and other noteworthies belonged, is that it sprang from the fact that its numbers were originally limited to twelve and not, as Gladstone suggests in the following letter to his father, because of any connexion with mission work. Indeed, when founded, its object

¹ Charles Childers, afterwards a Canon of Gibraltar and Rector of Armthorpe, Yorkshire.

² Oxford won by 115 runs.

seems to have been to invite a select few 'with a taste for 'literature and enquiry'. Undoubtedly the most zealous of the Apostles was F. D. Maurice, and he has been given the credit of having been a founder, if not the founder of the Society, but this again is open to question, as will be seen from a letter written to Gladstone by Arthur Hallam which runs: 'The effects 'which he [Maurice] has produced on the minds of many at 'Cambridge by the single creation of that society of Apostles '(for the spirit though not the form was created by him) is far 'greater than I dare to calculate.'

Gladstone's Essay Club, familiarly known as the 'Weg', like the Apostles, originally consisted of twelve members, the number being afterwards increased to sixteen. The first twelve were (Sir) Thomas Acland, J. Anstice, F. B. Cole, O. B. Cole, (Sir) Francis Doyle, J. M. Gaskell, Gladstone, B. Harrison (Archdeacon of Maidstone), J. Temple Leader, H. Moncreiff, F. Rogers (Lord Blachford), and H. Seymer, all with the exception of Moncreiff (New College) being Christ Church men. Amongst later members was Maurice, who joined when taking orders at Oxford and thus achieved the distinction of belonging to both the Oxford and Cambridge societies. The 'Weg' minute book, now in the British Museum, gives details of fifty-six meetings where all manner of subjects seem to have been discussed. That 'Mr. Tennyson's poems showed considerable genius' was decided by a majority of one only, whilst eleven votes to one affirmed 'that the general principles of 'phrenology were true'.

To his Father

CHRIST CHURCH. *Sept. 27. 1829*

The Society which I mentioned in my last is at length formed. It is nearly on the model of one at Cambridge which has existed long, and had many distinguished members: that goes by the somewhat inappropriate and extraordinary name of 'the Apostles'. It is said originally to have been an association for

supporting missions. It must have undergone a pretty complete metamorphosis, in order to arrive at its present state. Its objects now are to invite the advantages of a debating society, with those conferred by continual practice in English composition—and the means proposed to attain them are these. Each member in turn composes an Essay, on any subject whatever classical, literary, historical, political, scientific, moral or metaphysical—any one in short except a question directly touching religion: he reads this Essay once over at one of the weekly meetings of the Society: another member who chooses studies the subject and prepares an attack or defence of the Essay during the following week; it is then read over again, and after the repetition if any person objects to the principles and arguments set forth in it, he rises to state his objections and debate then takes place on the subject. I hope this will meet your approbation. . . .

It was Hallam's¹ communication concerning the Cambridge Society that first gave me the idea of going about to different people here with the idea of getting one similar to it set on foot among ourselves. I went first to Gaskell² and Doyle³ about it, the former of whom was rather lukewarm: the latter approved it very decidedly exerted himself somewhat too. I met with various success in making my different applications and at last it was settled that we should all hold a meeting at Gaskell's rooms on Friday Evening, to organise a Society. We prevailed upon several persons to come to the meeting who had declared they would not belong to the Society, on the plea of giving it a hearing—this succeeded very well and two or three

¹ Arthur Henry Hallam (1811–1833), the subject of 'In Memoriam'.

² James Milnes Gaskell, M.P. for Wenlock, 1832–1868, *d.* 1873.

³ Ten years later Doyle addressed his poem, 'To the Sister Brides', which is included in the collected edition of his works, to Catherine and John Glynne (Mrs. Gladstone and Lady Lyttelton) on the occasion of their marriage.

who were of great importance to the plan came in, induced by this means. We limited our numbers to twelve and filled up all the places that night—we now think of enlarging a little. Our members are in general I am happy to say very superior both in abilities and principles. The first Essay is to be read on Saturday next. When we are in full play, we are to have one read for immediate discussion, another for consideration during the week. We have not got a name yet. I dare not speak of our stability yet, as the mortar which joined our bricks together is not dry—perhaps we may soon break up—at present the prospects are very good. I have become a member of the Debating Society since the vacation—the reading room is good with a library of books generally I should think very useful—but the debates have little animation.

To his brother, John Neilson Gladstone

HALLINGBURY, Dec. 29 1829

With reference to the Studentship, as early as in the month of April Biscoe¹ told me that he hoped they would give me one, but he did not say when, so that I thought next Christmas was the probable time for it, rather than this. However about a fortnight or three weeks before the time came Biscoe told me again that there was a Studentship which would probably be given me but desired that I would not mention it. Some days before he had asked me two questions, one whether I was going into the Church and the other whether I should be willing to remain at Christ Church and take pupils—the latter of these I thought could not possibly have been put to me with any other view—none but Students being allowed to take pupils and

¹ Gladstone's tutor.

plentifully supplied in connection with it. Our Essay Society also continues to flourish.

To his Father

CUDDESDON. *July 25. 1830*

I will now tell you something of our plan of operations. We profess to be up between five and six, and to set to work at six: read for three hours: breakfast at nine: begin to read again at ten, and keep to it till three when we dine: go out from four to six read from six to eight, then have tea and go about a little and perhaps get three quarters of an hour or an hour more before ten when we go to bed. This work is more than I have been accustomed to, not because it is too much, for it is in effect very moderate, as it is not all straightforward reading but has many breaks and intervals of lighter occupation—but because what I have hitherto done at Oxford and elsewhere has been wretchedly little. And I think I never enjoyed better health in my life than I have done since I have been here.

To his Father

OXFORD. *October 27 1830*

We have a question coming on in the Debating Society, to-morrow fortnight, upon the merits of the Duke's Administration which excites a good deal of interest here and there will probably be some violent speaking. I am to move it. It seems to be expected that the Duke would be beaten in our Parliament if his merits were to be tried there. Gaskell says the pamphlet which has been sent you 'On Mr. Canning's

Foreign Policy'¹ was believed to be written by Lord Melbourne—others said by Lord Palmerston but the former was believed.

To his Father

OXFORD. *April 22 1831*

Sir C. Wetherell² said a bitter thing of Brougham's sitting in the House of Lords on Good Friday to hear causes—'that he was the first judge who had done so since Pontius Pilate.'

To his Father

CHRIST CHURCH. *April 26. 1831*

We are all in a state of great excitement—canvassing for the city and county already in progress—the city members are both for Reform so perhaps they may not be molested. A deputation was sent to Wetherell to stand, but his lady was just dead so he could not receive them. Fane one of the county members has resigned and two Reformers are put forward to supply his place. I have been labouring in my humble vocation and have written two sturdy placards which were printed yesterday and are going all about the city to-day. My printer sent copies to Lord Norreys's³ Committee who wanted to get hold of the author's name but that is a profound secret: of course it would be madness in me to let myself be lugged head and ears into a business of that kind, indeed if it were done,

¹ *A brief exposition of the foreign policy of Mr. Canning as contrasted with that of the existing administration.* London, 1830.

² Sir Charles Wetherell, lawyer and politician, d. 1846.

³ 6th Earl of Abingdon (1808–1884).

it does not necessarily imply much more than length. Doyle spoke remarkably well and made a violent attack on Mr. Canning's friends which Gaskell did his best to answer but very ineffectually from the nature of the case. We got a conversion speech from a Ch. Ch. gentleman commoner named Alston¹ which produced an excellent effect—and the division was favourable beyond anything we had hoped—ninety-four to thirty-eight. We should have had larger numbers had we divided on the first night. Great diligence was used by both parties in bringing men down—but the tactics on the whole were better on our side and we had fewer truants in proportion to our numbers. England expects every man to do his duty and ours, humble as it is, has been done in reference to this question. On Friday I wrote a letter to the Standard giving an account of the division which you will see in Saturday's paper if you think it worth while to refer to it.

¹ Rowland Gardiner Alston.

2. ENTRY INTO PUBLIC LIFE

The years 1832 to 1843, which are covered by the next series of letters, witnessed Gladstone's entry into public and official life, and the commencement of his long career of over sixty years as a servant of the Crown. The main facts of his life are too well known to need recapitulation, but briefly, it may be stated here that during the period under review he entered Parliament as member for Newark (1832), became a Junior Lord of the Treasury (1834), Under-Secretary for War and the Colonies (1835), Vice-President of the Board of Trade, Master of the Mint, and a Privy Councillor, without a seat in the Cabinet (1841). In 1839 Gladstone was married at Hawarden to Catherine, elder daughter of Sir Stephen Glynne and sister of Sir Stephen Richard Glynne, the last baronet.

To his Aunt, Miss Johanna Robertson

TORQUAY. Aug. 25 1832

I am delighted with this country, to which I was a perfect stranger until last week. The coast and sea-views are magnificent, and the landscapes excessively picturesque. To-night we have Sir Pulteney Malcolm's Squadron at anchor in the Bay. All our walls are already covered with placards relating to the approaching Election—the county, Southern Division, will be represented by Lord John Russell and (we hope) Mr. Buller—but Mr. Bulteel,¹ a son in law of Ld. Grey, is also a candidate. What a curse it is, that the minds of men are to be distracted everywhere by political contention, at a period so long before the anticipated Dissolution. . . .

¹ Lord John Russell and Mr. J. C. Bulteel were the successful candidates. Sir J. B. Yarde-Buller was elected in 1835 and represented South Devonshire for twenty-two years.

There is no idea of my visiting Newark at present—it will come quite soon enough, for I am not in any way very fit to grapple with a body of Electors amounting to 1600. There is I fear no hope of escaping a severe contest, though with the best prospects of a successful issue.

To his Father

CLINTON ARMS. Dec. 11. 1832

The Serjeant¹ dwelt in detail on all the ills of Slavery, quoted instances of cruelty which he set off in the most glowing colours, referring of course occasionally to your pamphlet, and in that did his utmost to inflame his audience, and his success was testified by the most pertinacious yells and groans at me. I think it must have been considerably past four before I had an opportunity of speaking—some candles I remember were then brought in. I was obliged very hurriedly to touch upon one or two of the points connected with Slavery, after he had gone through what I now see to be the farce of requesting me a hearing. Of course I was saluted with the most approbrious epithets from all quarters—at last in came a body of drunken fellows taking advantage of the darkness to raise a clamour—I committed the error of calling them deliberately impertinent scoundrels, this of course made them worse than ever, and in a few minutes I was obliged to close. The nomination was then carried by a large show of hands for W. and a smaller one for Handley²—but the election as I have told you is expected most confidently to be a very different thing. There have been some skirmishes to-day for the flags.

¹ Thomas Wilde (1782–1855), at that time King's Serjeant, afterwards Baron Truro, Lord Chancellor.

² Farnworth Handley. He and Gladstone were returned.

To his Father

CLINTON ARMS. Dec. 13. 1832

At night I spoke briefly from the Inn window—it was dark and a few fellows yelled that I might not be heard—one Blue, who had promised me and belonged to a Red Club, then voted plumper for Wilde, flung a stone at me, which came within twelve inches of my head—he was recognized, and depositions have been taken. Another man was just going to fling again, when his arm was struck back. The yellows attacked our flags in the market place, and destroyed one out of four. Our people next attacked theirs and destroyed five out of seven.

To his Aunt, Miss Johanna Robertson

HOUSE OF C. Feb. 4. 1833

The King has made his speech to-day, and it has incensed the Radicals much, as, while it says little or nothing about reforms, except what is very vague and indistinct, it denounces the Irish Agitators all but by name, and a very stormy debate is expected in consequence.

To his Father

HOUSE OF COMMONS. June 27. 1833

I dined yesterday with Sir Robert Peel—he had a party of about two and twenty, nearly all members of Parliament—Doherty¹ was one of the exceptions. He desired to be introduced to me, and asked particularly

¹ John Doherty (1783–1850), chief justice of Ireland.

after you. I saw little of our host, as was to be expected in such a party: but he paid me the compliment of drinking wine with me. The dinner was very splendidly served, and everything also in excellent taste. The fittings up of the house are remarkably beautiful: and his pictures are a great treasure.

A long-forgotten incident of the duelling days is referred to in the next letter. Lord Althorp, then Chancellor of the Exchequer and Leader of the House of Commons, had accused Richard Lalor Sheil, the Irish politician and dramatist, of attacking the Coercion Bill of 1833 in public whilst giving it his approval in private. The accusation was hotly denied by Sheil and the atmosphere of the House became so tense that the Speaker demanded an assurance that the matter 'should not be prosecuted out of its walls'. Sheil made no reply, but Lord Althorp agreed on his own part to conform to the Speaker's request, adding, however, that were he challenged he could not give an undertaking to decline. The two were then taken into custody by the Sergeant-at-Arms and were not released until the necessary assurances had been given. Lord Althorp afterwards withdrew the charges.

To his Aunt, Miss Elizabeth Robertson

ALBANY. Feb. 7. 1834

Little has been done in the House of Commons as yet, except the sad affair between Lord Althorp and Sheil, which would have produced a duel but for the intervention of the House—according to the false maxim and false practice of society.

To his Aunt, Miss Johanna Robertson

LONDON, *July 14. 1834*

We have had here for the last week a period of uncertainty and anxiety—all sorts of rumours have been in circulation in reference to public affairs, and we have also reason to believe that the paucity of authentic intelligence has been owing to the indecision of the King connected with the difficulties of his situation. To-day it is at length said, that a kind of Government has been arranged, that Lord Melbourne is to be its premier, and that Lord Althorp is to return to office so that he has gained a victory about the Coercion Bill, for of course the stinging clauses to which he objected will if this report be true be dropped, but God grant that this may not prove a sore event to the peaceable portion of the people of Ireland.

I continue to be much occupied in the morning as well as the evening work at the House of Commons—the long investigation into Whittle Harvey's case still continues, and will not probably end before next week, but I am very well in health, which I attribute under God to horse exercise: this I take regularly.

Daniel Whittle Harvey (1786–1863), of whom mention is made above, was at the time Member of Parliament for Colchester. Alleging certain irregularities on his part the Benchers had twice refused him admission to the bar, and the House of Commons ordered a Select Committee, of which Daniel O'Connell was the chairman and Gladstone one of its members, to investigate the charges made against him. The finding of the committee was a complete exoneration of Harvey, but the Benchers asserted their independence of the House of Commons and declined to reverse their decision. Harvey founded the *Sunday Times* in 1822, and for the last twenty-three years of his life was a commissioner of police.

*To his Father*TREASURY. *Jan. 19. 1835*

A great constellation of legal talent on Saturday at dinner—the Lord Chancellor,¹ Lord Abinger,² Justices James Parke³ and Patteson⁴—about the four first (I believe) on the bench. They said Brougham used to sleep much during his evening sittings, and J. Parke said in one case respecting the theatres, in which he requested the assistance of the judges, he at one time looked along the row and saw every one asleep but himself. Sir W. Horne⁵ was there and makes no secret of his considering himself abominably ill used: ‘I acquit’ (quoth he) ‘the Cabinet, but *one man* I call a scoundrel and a rascal’—Brougham I suppose is meant.

*To his Father*DRAYTON MANOR. *Jan. 1836*

I hope to have an opportunity of mentioning to Sir R. Peel the subject of West Indian labour, as his party which has been very large is now breaking up. The Duke [of Wellington] goes to-morrow, as do Sir H. Hardinge,⁶ Mr. Herries⁷ and Mr. Goulburn,⁸ and Lord G. Somerset⁹ to-night. They have been out shooting to-day and killed some hundreds, it is not yet

¹ Lord Lyndhurst (1772–1863). It was in this year, at a dinner given by Lord Lyndhurst that Gladstone and Disraeli met for the first time.

² James Scarlett, 1st Lord Abinger (1769–1844), Baron of the Exchequer.

³ Sir James Parke, afterwards Lord Wensleydale (1782–1868).

⁴ Sir John Patteson (1790–1861), judge.

⁵ Sir William Horne (1774–1860) resigned his judgeship owing to scruples against capital punishment.

⁶ Sir Henry Hardinge, 1st Viscount Hardinge (1785–1856), Governor-General of India and Field Marshal.

⁷ John Charles Herries (1778–1855), statesman.

⁸ Henry Goulburn (1784–1856), statesman.

⁹ Lord Granville Charles Henry Somerset (1792–1848), Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

known how many. I have arranged to stay till Monday, as Lincoln¹ does: I am afraid of trespassing, but as he seems to wish it, I did not like to lose the opportunity of seeing more of him, for of course it is quite a different thing when the house is full, and when there are only some half dozen at dinner. On Monday evening therefore I expect to be in Liverpool. The Duke seems singularly plain and unaffected in his manners: he is decidedly a man of few words, has no loose rambling talk, and uses language exclusively for natural purpose namely to convey an idea. I heard much more fall from our host the first evening when only Ld Harrowby² was here, than upon all the subsequent days. He can tell a story admirably: and quite shakes off his cares. Although it is a political party most of those composing it are as men very social and accessible, and I do think honestly, they are men of high principle and disinterested aims. It is always satisfactory to be assured of this, and after all mere public knowledge cannot alone supply that assurance.

To his Father

ABERCROMBIE SQUARE. Jan. 25. 1836

I arrived in Liverpool to-night by the Cheshire mail at half-past eight instead of a quarter after six, having left Drayton Manor this morning after an early breakfast. I was sorry to come away for in addition to everything else Sir R. and Lady P[eel] are so domestic and kind in their own family, that it is a pleasure to see them in that character alone. The children now at home are Miss Peel,³ in one sense scarcely a child, for

¹ Earl of Lincoln, afterwards Duke of Newcastle (1811-64).

² First Earl of Harrowby (1762-1847).

³ Afterwards Countess of Jersey.

she is I believe fifteen, and one of the best examples I ever saw of a person perfectly frank and artless without being in the slightest degree forward: the youngest son Arthur Wellesley Peel,¹ a godson of the Duke's, six years old, and a little girl of three and a half, both remarkably fine children. I think Lady Peel appears to be one of the most amiable people I ever saw. Her eldest daughter has been educated *by herself*, and they have had no governess for a very long time.

But when in his family Sir Robert is, of the two, rather taciturn than garrulous, his conversation does not flow habitually, though he shows much humour as well as ability in it. I judge of this from seeing him with Lady Lincoln at his side, with whom I assume that he would speak at all events not *less* than is his usual habit. I do not mean that he is a silent man as compared with the world in general, but that only he is not so continuous a talker as the world expects great men to be for its amusement: and this explains a part of the idea of coldness which has so often been formed of him, a quality the very reverse I think of his character, though shyness and thoughtfulness may have been found in him to produce a portion of the same effect.

To his Father

LONDON. Nov. 29. 1837

At present I should be very greatly encumbered with an amanuensis and little or nothing aided. *Writing* is the occupation in which he would assist me—but my writing is done easily, and at short intervals, here and there. It is *reading* in which my *want* lies. And here such a character would be of no use. It would cost me before I could acquire the habit of

¹ Viscount Peel, Speaker of the House of Commons.

attending to dry matter more time than will I hope set up my eyes. Not to mention that in the hour or two daily which I may give to it, I shall be able to read to myself what it would take him three times as much to read aloud. Then again I have many friends to converse with every now and then: and my time is much broken with viva voce business and appointments and at different places—for example, to-day, with the Duke of Wellington at 12—at the Penitentiary at two—at a Library Committee at four. If there be a time of the day when I could use the services of an assistant it is in the evening when the house does not sit.

The examination for the Newcastle Scholarship, founded by his political patron, was an event which, having associations with both Eton and Newark, was of special interest to Gladstone, and in 1840 he gladly undertook to be a joint examiner with his brother-in-law, Lord Lyttelton, who had himself won the Newcastle medal six years previously. On this occasion the scholarship was awarded to J. B. Seymour, to whom there is a monument in Balliol College chapel, and the medal to the younger brother of Gladstone's close friend, Arthur Hallam.

ETON—Monday night, *Mch.* 29 40

I got here about 9 and went forthwith into the examination where I found George¹ sitting in state among 39 boys at nearly as many tables—Seymour Neville² one of them. We had no papers to go to work upon until after the first sitting, at 11, but since then have been near ten hours at work, and am to begin again at 8 to-morrow morning. We shall, I hope, make 12 hours to-morrow—then it will be easier. The bulk

¹ Lord Lyttelton (1817–1876), Gladstone's brother-in-law.

² Son of the Dean of Windsor, *v.* p. 71.

is immense—the merit far beyond anything possible or conceivable when I was at Eton.

COLLEGE LIBRARY, ETON—*Ap. 2. 40*

The late Provost¹ was buried at one in the chapel, all the boys attending the service as well as the fellows and masters: we of course went: it was very striking, and we had the opportunity of hearing once more those sublime words of St. Paul which more than any ever written or spoken tell us the law of our death and of our life.

13 C.H.T. *Aug. 1 '40*

Such an odd party at M. Guizot's: Austin,² radical lawyer, John Mill,³ radical reviewer, M. Gaskell, Dickie Milnes,⁴ Thirlwall,⁵ new Bp. of St. David's, Geo. Lewis,⁶ Poor Law Commissioner: not very ill mixed however. George was to have been there. The host is very nice. . . . A very interesting letter from young Hallam.⁷

To his Father

VALE ROYAL. *Sept. 1840*

To-morrow we intend going on to Hawarden. The Chester and Crewe line is not yet opened, and it does not appear that a day is positively named. We saw the workpeople completing the end of the line

¹ Joseph Goodall.

² Charles Austin (1799–1874).

³ John Stuart Mill (1806–1873).

⁴ Richard Monckton Milnes (Lord Houghton).

⁵ Connop Thirlwall (1797–1875).

⁶ Sir George Cornwall Lewis (1806–1863).

⁷ Henry Fitzmaurice Hallam (1824–1850), younger brother of Arthur Hallam. A leading figure in 'The Apostles', *v.* p. 14.

where the trains join at Crewe. I am convinced the britschkas with undersprings only have a great advantage in respect of motion, on the railway—whether the carriage strains more I cannot pretend to determine. Lady Westminster in the winter was determined to have her carriage, as she thought, firmly fastened and took leathers of her own to do it. The railway people said that to avoid risk they would fasten it in their own way too. It was well they did, for when they got into motion her leathers were all snapped.

NEWARK, Midnight *Sept 12. '40*

I have made out my journey 176 miles since I left you this morning at half past eight, and nearly four hours of the time were spent in long stoppages at Chester, Birmingham and Derby in consequence of my not having known the succession of the trains. I have had the benefit of no less than seven different kinds of conveyance on my way. Tom seemed to think we had had enough of it at Derby and gently hinted stopping there: which I as emphatically repudiated. The Grand Junction actually has a carriage named 'Conservative'—does not this give that illustrious Company a new claim on the gratitude and confidence of Englishmen? We have had a delightful day: came 10 miles from Birmingham to Hampton in 18 minutes. . . .

I could not help recollecting to-night as I drove towards the town that my first visit here was paid at the same hour on a September night eight years ago: it was my first dip into politics and I well remember the excitement, the mingled eagerness and timidity of that period—very different I assure you from the lethargic composure with which I now revisit the scene of ancient contests.

CLINTON ARMS, NEWARK—*Sep. 14 '40*

Yesterday I went to all my services and to the schools, and when I was expecting to go to bed in this solitary house and see ghosts who should arrive in the evening but Rubini,¹ Persiani² and others for a concert which they intended to give to-day. Every now and then one of them bolted into my (sitting) room by mistake and this morning the waiter begged a joint of beef and a ham from my breakfast for the said Rubini and Co., which as he left me a fowl and two eggs and proposed also to get me some hot meat I thought I might manage to spare. Well I went to the concert thinking it would be a good reunion of my good folks and that I could despatch a conversation between each song, but the tickets were 6s. and I found very few constituents. Lady Manvers³ and her daughters were there. She was as usual most kind and enquired particularly about you.

CLINTON ARMS, *June 16 1841*

I am still without time to write to you as I could wish though I have a little more than yesterday. We got to Nottingham at $\frac{1}{4}$ past 4, knocked up the Inn and went to bed for three hours: then breakfasted and drove over here in a carriage and four (by particular order) arriving at $\frac{1}{4}$ to eleven. We were after a few minutes delay taken out to visit a few of the *big wigs* of the place and then started on our public canvass which is a dusty affair of bands and flags, men women and chiefly children attending: this lasted till five: then speeches from the window, at six a dinner of twenty,

¹ Giovanni Battista Rubini (1795–1854), Italian tenor.

² Giuseppe Persiani (*circa* 1804–1869), Italian composer.

³ Wife of the second Earl Manvers.

toasts and speeches thereafter till $9\frac{1}{2}$ when we retreated, but I fell into a conversation with my colleague about Newark matters and then about Church and State which lasted till $11\frac{1}{2}$, and I was then too lazy or sleepy to sit down and write. I am now at $8\frac{1}{2}$ contemplating breakfast, and at $9\frac{1}{2}$ we start again upon the aforesaid public canvass, which is a great shame as hardly any votes are really gained by it, and likewise a very flat and vapid one to a person who is performing the operation for the fourth time. A few novelties have however turned up. A Wesleyan hesitated about promising me on account of my not supporting Wesleyan schools, and of something else which he was not prepared to mention until he had consulted some of his brethren (observe the curious way of combination in which they act). And an old woman said I was not only keeping bread and sugar from the people, but likewise stealing away from them the bread of life by bringing in among them a new faith. . . .

I am exceedingly pleased with Lord John Manners¹ judging from the little I have seen of him. As a candidate he is excellent: his speaking is popular and effective and his impediment hardly perceptible in the course of delivery: and he is a good canvasser, by virtue not I think of effort but of a general kindliness and warmth of disposition which naturally shows itself to every one. Nothing can be more satisfactory than to have such a partner.

Some drunkards of the Blue party yesterday attacked our flags and some fighting took place—a few of them will however be sent to the House of Correction at Southwell to learn better manners.

¹ Afterwards Duke of Rutland (1818–1906). Was M.P. for Newark 1841–47; Postmaster-General 1874–80 and 1885–6.

NK. *June 17 1841*

Lord J. Manners continues to acquit himself admirably. . . . For the sake of expedition as Lord John and I canvass together and as my person is generally known to them, I introduce him in each house and when I have said 'Lord John' the name of 'Russell' from custom is continually on my lips and yesterday I actually did present him by that name. Then the people don't understand this kind of title—one or two call him Lord Manners—others say 'Yes I shall sarve (serve, i.e. vote for) Mester (Mr.) Manners.'

NEWARK, *June 19 1841*

He continues to be very acceptable to the people, who however fond of nobility (which they certainly are) all call him 'Mester Manners' still: and I like him exceedingly. He seems to me a person of the greatest simplicity and delicacy of disposition with great warmth of heart, ingratiating manners, very good abilities which have been honestly done by, and considerable powers of expression: so that I look to him as a very good member of Parliament.

NEWARK. *June 24 1841*

On Tuesday I went to dinner at Mr. Tallents'¹ and met a red and black faced clergyman whom I presently found by his conversation to be a Welby,² I think a brother of Sir Wm. Welby's: when this light dawned upon me I said to him 'I think you must

¹ William Edwards Tallents, chairman of Gladstone's election committee at Newark.

² Rev. John Earle Welby (1786-1867). His mother was a daughter of Sir John Glynne of Hawarden Castle.

allow me to claim you as a connection'—he was amazed and said 'Oh yes we are of the same principles.' 'No,' I said, 'I mean something more than that' and then proceeded to inform him that you and I were married, I believe the first intimation he had had of it. Killing?

NEWARK. *June 28 1841*

The Blues have got out a placard addressed to the Dissenters about Lord J. M[anners]' pamphlet. One fellow shouted to-day 'Gladstone's a Puseyite'—it attracted no notice. I expect to have all the Wesleyan votes.

NEWARK. *Sept. 18 1841*

I am sadly pressed for places, having none to give: and the people have got a notion here that as Master of the Mint I shall have an unlimited command of the public money.

B. OF TRADE. *Dec. 6 1841*

Yesterday afternoon I went to the Abbey, and thought in winter there would be few, but it was crammed: however I got into quite a corner and was very happy. At St. Martin's too in the morning I was glad to see in the Communion plate of alms a pile of sovereigns, 10 or 15 lying together and evidently put in by the same person.

B. OF T. *Dec. 9 1841*

You ask me of my daily life—I will give it you. Up, about half past eight: nothing wonderful so far. Prayers and breakfast at the usual time—read, write

or see people till $\frac{1}{4}$ to twelve—then half an hour or so seeing my father—at my office till a quarter or half past six—dine with my father and stay till about half past eight—back home to read, goggo¹ at nine, and bed about half past twelve: i.e. in it. Thank God I am very well and mean to bring bed as near twelve as I can.

WHITEHALL, December 10 1841

The devotion of my time to public purposes will render it imperative on me to be more than heretofore a recluse in my own house—I do not mean as to you and the boy, nor as to Lady Glynne . . . I am anxious that *you* should not suffer loneliness because of my absorption—but absorbed I must be, and I cannot be otherwise without taking my mind, I believe, beyond its power of healthy operation.

For many years the Glynne family had adopted words and expressions to convey meanings known only to themselves and their inner circle of friends. In 1851 a *Glossary of the Glynnesse Language* was printed for private circulation. A copy with Gladstone's initials in it is preserved in the library of the British Museum, and contains the transcript of a letter which he wrote to Mrs. Wellesley, wife of the Dean of Windsor, in 1882. It runs: 'The author of the *Glynnesse Glossary* was 'the last Lord Lyttelton, and anyone who reads it will trace 'in it the easy hand and precision of a consummate scholar. . . . 'I should like to see the copy they have at the Museum as it 'has my initials, but I have no intention of claiming it as stolen 'goods. It certain ought to be in the library of the Museum.

'Fifty copies of it were printed by a little subscription among 'us. It would be difficult now to trace more than six.

'It may be true that some of the expressions are, and even 'have been for many years in constant use. Lord Lyttelton

¹ Cocoa.

'may sometimes have erred in supposing them peculiar. But 'there is another explanation. I apprehend that since the 'formation of the book began, 'tis sixty years since, undoubtedly 'friends of the principal creators became very fond, I may 'almost say ambitious, of using the phrases from their point 'and attitude: the last Duke of Devonshire to wit. So they 'oozed into a wider circulation.'

Mrs. Gladstone's letters abound in Glynnese phraseology, and Gladstone himself used the language to no little extent in his letters to members of his family. The first specimen in these pages, 'ph', occurs below. According to the *Glossary* 'ph', which has to be pronounced as two letters, 'p', 'h', is the initial abbreviation of 'phantod', which is described as 'apparently a corruption of the English word *phantom*. The 'sense however is essentially different. It signifies generally "an "imbecile person", "one incapable of serious rational pro- "cedure".'

WHITEHALL, *December 13 1841*

There is no man however near to me with whom I am fit to be habitually when hard worked. I have told you how reluctant I have always found myself to detail to my Father on coming home when I lived with him, what had been going on the House of Commons; setting a tired mind to work is like making the man run up and down stairs when his limbs are weary: and perhaps the most endurable masculine person at such a time would be a perfect ph.—provided he were perfect, and had no point whatever about him, either good bad or indifferent.

LONDON—*Sunday April 10 1842*

I sit down to begin a note to go by Mary¹ tomorrow. She will tell you all about the Palace dinner

¹ Lady Lyttelton.

—the whole machinery perfect, the Queen's demeanour admirable. She spoke a little to me as to every one else and asked kindly about you regretting your absence. One cannot but lament the absence of a Chaplain, or even grace, at Palace dinners: I wonder in whose reign this began. Perhaps she will some day supply the omission. Even in the eternal sense Majesty never can be perfect, never can put on its most august aspect, without religion.

WHITEHALL—*Ap. 16 1842*

It is now getting towards six and my Saturday's work is by no means done—I have been talking about Hops, Soap, Cordage, Starch, Copper and other matters till I am wearied and am determined in violation and despite of any duty to go and walk round the water in the Park. . . .

Mr. Goulburn¹ left me last night at 10 at the House saying he must go to his wife and to the Queen's ball: and in coming away he was run over by a cab and considerably though I believe not at all dangerously injured. In addition to being sorry for him, one must feel that this is a sad interruption to the public business as he will be wanted next week for the Income Tax Bill.

H. OF COMMONS—*Ap. 19 1842*

I am so much amused at your reading the debate² on Friday night: not above four or five persons in the House could in the least understand the point, and I am afraid unless the reporters were much more acute

¹ Then Chancellor of the Exchequer for the second time.

² Colonial Customs Duties.

you could hardly have a fair chance. Roebuck¹ entirely mistook it—Howick² understood and clearly explained. We had a singular debate last night,³ carried on almost wholly by members of the Opposition, who were at daggers drawn with one another—our division was not quite so good but sufficient.

I went for a little to Mrs. Russell Ellice's⁴ but only got the tail of her concert. She always has the best singers but the absence of Rubini and Tamburini⁵ creates a most woful void—two men named Mario⁶ and Ronconi⁷ sang their parts but the difference was great. . . . To-day I am going to dine with Bunsen⁸ to meet a certain Count with an unspellable and unrecollectable name, envoy from the King of Prussia to Lisbon. . . . I have been to look at my poor old abode in the Albany where I find the furniture grown somewhat rusty and the worse for wear. I had an application this morning from the Museum at Saffron Walden for my autograph! As they asked for others also, I sent them Peel, Stanley and Graham.

FASQUE. *Aug. 16 1842*

Palmerston's seemed to me a clever speech,⁹ laying himself open infinitely, which he never minds, for he is impervious to most of the sensations of other men. Peel however laid it on him pretty hard: he always evidently intends to punish *him*, and appears on this occasion to have been in great force.

¹ John Arthur Roebuck (1801–1879), politician.

² 3rd Earl Grey (1802–94); Colonial Secretary (1846–1852).

³ Income Tax Bill.

⁴ Daughter of Charles Chaplin, M.P. Russell Ellice was a brother of Edward Ellice (1781–1863), politician.

⁵ Antonio Tamburini (1800–1876). ⁶ The famous tenor (1810–1883).

⁷ Giorgio Ronconi (1810–1890).

⁸ Baron von Bunsen (1791–1860), Prussian diplomatist and scholar.

⁹ In a debate on Public Bills (August 10th) Palmerston had compared the policy of the Government with that of the previous administration.

FASQUE. *Aug. 17 1842*

We have severe service at whist: three rubbers of *longs* last night: my Father generally wins a shilling or two a night, which he pockets with great satisfaction and we tell him it will make housekeeping answer if he feathers his guests at such a rate.

The year 1842 was one of severe industrial depression, and at the time when the following letter was written a general reduction of wages had been announced with the result that strikes, in which the whole of the North of England was speedily involved, became general. 'In Lancashire the mill-workers removed the plugs of the boilers, in order to put the mills out of action, and the strikes in that county were known in consequence as the "Plug Plot".'¹

The part which Mrs. Gladstone played in relieving distress at this time is but little known. Her activities were unceasing and entailed frequent visits to the distressed areas, about one of which (Blackburn) a long and vivid account in her writing is preserved at Hawarden.

FASQUE. *Aug. 18 1842*

You do not seem to be much disturbed by the neighbourhood of this turn out which I hope may cause no commotion beyond the edge of the manufacturing district: but in itself it is formidable. *This* is the time when we may reflect on the thorough rottenness, socially speaking, of the system which gathers together huge masses of population having no other tie to the classes above them than that of employment, of high money payments constituting a great moral temptation in times of prosperity, and then reductions in adversity which *seem* like robberies, and which the people have no discipline or training to endure.

¹ *Lord Shaftesbury*, by J. L. and Barbara Hammond.

WHITEHALL, *Dec 10 1842*

My article¹ is to be printed in the new Review and the Editor Dr. Worthington sends me many thanks. My wish to maintain secrecy about it had, and has, reference merely to the Government whom it might be supposed more or less to commit. As to myself individually there is nothing in it that I have the least desire to keep back from owning: and from Lord Ripon's² view of it I do not think there is anything in it that could be made a handle against the Govt.—I have asked to have 25 copies struck off separately.

WHITEHALL *Jan 17 1843*

I am over head and ears with work but not of a vexing kind. This morning I have discussed with Manning the whole subject of the practicability of any measure to arrest the inclination to Romanism, or at least to disclaim all disposition either to discourage it or to treat it as a light evil. He is to dine with me for the purpose of an evening upon these matters. He says their Bishop of Chichester (Dr. Gilbert³) is doing capitally!

To-day I went to Peel on a Mint affair, and was somewhat surprised by his entering most freely and confidentially on Church Extension and other such questions, giving me confidential papers to read and asking me who I thought were rightminded and judicious in such matters. I let out to him a little about St. Asaph and Bangor and am to see him again, probably to-morrow or next day on these subjects.

¹ 'Course of Commercial Policy at Home and Abroad.' *Foreign and Colonial Quarterly Review*, January 1843, v. p. 179.

² 1st Earl of Ripon (1782–1859). As Viscount Goderich was Prime Minister for five months, 1827–8.

³ Ashurst Turner Gilbert (1786–1870).

3. IN THE CABINET

On May 19th 1843 Gladstone took his seat in the Cabinet for the first time, as President of the Board of Trade, an office which he held until his resignation on the question of a grant to Maynooth College in January 1845. In the autumn of the latter year he visited Germany and began what was destined to be an enduring friendship with Dr. Döllinger. On his return (December 1845) he again became a Cabinet Minister, holding the office of Secretary of State for the Colonies, but without a seat in Parliament, which he did not re-enter until after the General Election of 1847, when he was chosen to represent Oxford University. When Peel resigned in 1846 Gladstone followed his leader and resigned his seals of office. The winter of 1850-51 was spent at Naples and had its outcome in the famous Neapolitan Letters.

H. OF C. *July 24 1843*

I write from the House of Commons at ten o'clock—if the House is up soon which it may be—I find I must go to the Queen's ball: if it sits till the usual hour I may hold myself excused. . . . Bradley¹ sent home on Saturday evening the picture of my Father, which will cost only fifty pounds and is I think a most valuable and interesting memorial of him. . . . Bradley is to finish the portrait a little in our dining-room, and wants to have a sitting from me, as he cannot get you.

Edward Drummond, whose assassination is recounted in the next three letters, had the unique experience of having acted as private secretary to four Prime Ministers—Canning, Ripon, Wellington, and Peel. He was buried at Charlton, near

¹ William Bradley (1801-1857), portrait painter.

Woolwich, not far from the grave of Spencer Perceval, the Prime Minister, who had himself been assassinated in 1812. Drummond's assailant, one Daniel Macnaghten, was declared insane.

Thursday night. 13 C.H.T. *Jan 20 1843*

Drummond, Peel's secretary, has just been shot at by an assassin—supposed to be mistaken for Peel. Two pistols were fired. One entered the back. He was able to walk to a carriage and it is hoped the wound is not serious. Peel went with him to his brother's—was to have been back in Downing Street at five to see me if he could—but is not come. If I hear more before post time you shall know it. . . .

The Post and Chronicle are quarrelling about my article in the F[oreign] and C[olonial] Review which I thought was stillborn.

6 C. GARDENS *Jan 23 1843*

The accounts of Drummond this afternoon are but indifferent. It is clear that he can by no means be pronounced free from danger yet: and I hear one account, without knowing absolutely that it is true, which states that he has very great difficulty in breathing, that they are in doubt as to the course of the ball and that they think the lungs must have been injured. Peel is of course deeply interested. The night of the attempt when I went to him, I said something which led him to suppose I did not know it (though he had sent to me) and I was struck by his saying you know what *has happened*—not naming Drummond. But I do not discern anything bearing a relation to fear. He is just as usual on public measures.

WHITEHALL *Jan 25 1843*

That which I must first tell you is that Drummond died at a little before eleven this morning. From yesterday he was given over. It is a most horrible event. There is little or no doubt that it was meant for Peel. He himself told Sir J. Graham¹ and me this morning of a parallel case in Mr. Pitt's time when the man selected for a victim was a clerk in the Colonial Office named Chapman. . . . It is frightful to think of what might have been. There is as much cause for thankfulness as for sorrow and compassion. Peel was very much touched by it—though entirely as a man, and not as a coward, would be. . . . In consequence of the event P. does not go to the Cabinet dinner at the Duke of Wellington's to-day. Graham told me that he had the satisfaction of receiving the Holy Sacrament with Drummond on Christmas Day.

ETON *July 31 1843*

We came down on Saturday in time for the Provost's² dinner of that day, which was followed by speeches. Then we walked up to Surly Hall and down again to see the fireworks so that nothing escaped. Yesterday as St. George's chapel is under repair we went both times to the chapel here and helped to pinch the Fellows for room—the chapel is much improved by the late alterations—still it looks and is still only half done. The organ is very much more powerful than in my day, and the boys behave very differently, taking part in the service, I should say with more appearance of interest than an average congregation.

¹ Sir James Robert George Graham, the statesman (1792–1861).

² Francis Hodgson (1781–1852).

HOUSE OF COMMONS. *Aug. 1 1843*

Yesterday we dined in Hall with the Provost and fellows and I suddenly bolted at half past four in order not to miss the train and the omnibus destined for it—Chelsea¹ and old Rogers² by agreement after me. I ran and came just in time to catch the bus which was full: an Eton boy turned out of it to make room for Rogers who got in and sat patiently with a farmer's wife and bandbox in his lap, while Chelsea and I and the said Eton boy dangled upon the steps of the omnibus all the way up to Slough enjoying it highly: the said Rogers also much amused. . . . Invitations to Lady Jersey's to-night—Duke of Wellington's to-morrow—Duchess of Sutherland's next night and King of Hanover on Wed 9th—so that London is not yet quite dead.

WHITEHALL—Sat *Aug. 5 1843*

To-day I have been five hours upon a Bill in the House of Commons and I still have two or three subjects remaining that will take considerable time there. Yesterday the House sat fourteen hours of which I was present only eleven and two at my office. . . . I assure you that I have now a positive enjoyment in being at work there or here because it makes me feel the progress step by step and be aware that I am getting nearer reunion. . . .

Did I tell you that I have received my book³ in German from Miss Wynn—how egotistical if I have said the same thing twice over. I have this evening read the preface by Tholuck⁴—a great evangelical divine of that country—who does both me and it more

¹ Lord Chelsea, afterwards Cadogan (1812–1873), then M.P. for Reading.

² Frederic Rogers, Lord Blachford (1811–1889).

³ *State in its relations with the Church*. London, John Murray, 1838.

⁴ Friedrich August Gottreu Tholuck (1799–1877), German theologian.

than justice. He looks on me as a kind of mongrel or moderate Oxford man, who would arrest their principles before they had reached their extremes.

H. OF C. *Aug. 10 1843. 2 p.m.*

Mr. Ramsey is in London. I showed him Bradley's picture of my father with which he is delighted—and he likewise raves of Dyce's¹ Jessica—you know he draws beautifully and has excellent taste. I have been sitting to the said Bradley this morning—he is finishing a picture of me to go to my father in Scotland and is doing a third full length to hang in his own gallery.

. . . Last night I went to the King of Hanover for $\frac{1}{4}$ hour by way of civility and got presented to him afresh. He was quite keen about the Irish Arms Bill and asked if we should send it up to 'us' meaning the Peers, to-day—As I came out I met Grisi² going in actually chaperoned, if my eyes did not deceive me, by Mario. These things are wonderful to see.

WHITEHALL, *August 17 1843*

I expected our sittings to be short this week but we have, owing to the unexpected storm on the Pensioners Bill had three long and late nights—but it is now all right, and I *confidently* look forward to leaving town by the mail of to-morrow night. . . . I have been with Peel to-day about commercial matters and there is to be a Cabinet on them to-morrow at half past two. I was in such a fright lest they should fix Saturday! . . . I could almost jump out of my skin,

¹ William Dyce, R.A. (1806–1864). Gladstone was a great admirer of his work.

² Giulia Grisi (1811–1869). She married Mario thirteen years later.

as the saying is, at the thought of freedom! A boy's vacation is nothing to it.

CABINET ROOM. *Jan 12 1844*

Poor Lucas¹ has been with me in a state of the greatest alarm fearing that Peel does not like the picture² because he was silent about the head. I have promised to try and find out for him: he says he would wish the engagement cancelled and the commission transferred to some one else in every case where the person for whom he works is not satisfied with the result.

WHITEHALL *Jan 19 1844*

. . . Sitting tight!³ I suppose a Glynnese expression. It is most provoking, for five years I have been trying with all my might to master that language and have not yet succeeded.

WHITEHALL *Nov 25 1844*

Events travel fast and not slow. My opinion is that I shall be out on Friday evening.⁴ We have discussed Maynooth to-day. An intermediate letter which Sir James Graham has to write to Ireland for information causes thus much of delay. I have told them that if I go, I shall go on the ground of what is required by my personal character, and not because my mind is *made up* that the course that they propose can be avoided, far less because I consider myself bound to

¹ John Lucas (1807-1874), portrait painter.

² *v.* p. 258.

³ 'To be in eager expectation,' *Glynnese Glossary*.

⁴ Gladstone's retirement from the Cabinet did not take place until January 28th 1845.

resist it. I had the process of this declaration to repeat. I think they were prepared for it but they would not assume that it was to be and rather proceeded as if I had never said a word upon the subject. It was painful but not so painful as the last time—and by an effort I had altogether prevented my mind from brooding upon it beforehand. At this moment (6½) I am sure they are talking about it over the way. I am going to dine with Sir R. Peel. Under these circumstances the Windsor visit will be strange enough.

WHITEHALL *Nov. 26 1844*

I have no more light to throw upon the matters which I mentioned yesterday—the dinner at Peel's went off as well as could be expected: I did not sit near him. Lord Ab[erdee]n was with me to-day and said very kindly it *must* be prevented: but I think it cannot and friendly efforts to prolong the day only aggravate the pain.

WINDSOR CASTLE *Jan. 10 1845*

. . . Owing to the Spanish Ambassador's not appearing Lady Lyttelton was suddenly invited, and it fell to my lot to hand in and sit by which was very pleasant. I am, you know, a shockingly bad witness to looks, but she appears to me I confess a little worn and aged. She ought to have at least two months holiday every year. After dinner the Queen enquired as usual about you and rather particularly with much interest about Lady Glynne.¹ . . . Then we went to cards and played Commerce—fortunately I was never the worst hand, and so was not called upon to pay:

¹ Mrs. Gladstone's mother.

for I had locked up my purse before going to dinner—but I found I had won 2/2 at the end, 8*d.* of which was payed me by the Prince. I mean to keep the 2*d.* piece (the 6*d.* I cannot identify) accordingly, unless I lose it again to-night. . . . But the saddest part, and the most laughable, remains to be told: when I was walking off to bed the groom of the chambers revealed to me an accident!—That my tights were split across the knee—when it happened I don't know, but I hope *late*. I shall row the maker accordingly. I breakfasted in the equerries room this morning by order of the said groom, but have been reprimanded since, and am to be promoted to breakfast with the ladies to-morrow. I was late for prayers by half a minute, not knowing the interminable length of the corridor—with Ld and Lady Exeter: I would have *run* if I had been alone.

WHITEHALL Jan. 11 1845

I came back from Windsor this morning, very kindly used. The Queen mentioned particularly that you were not asked on account of presumed inconvenience, and sent me a private print of the Prince of Wales,¹ and on my thanking for it through Lady L[yttelton], another of the Princess.² Also she brought the little people through the corridor yesterday after luncheon where they behaved very well and she made them come and shake hands with me. The P. of Wales has a very good countenance: the baby³ I should call a very fine child indeed. The Queen said after your own you must think them dwarfs—but I answered that I did not think the Princess Royal short as compared with Willy.⁴ We had more cards last evening—Lady

¹ King Edward VII.

² Princess Royal (Empress of Germany).

³ Duke of Edinburgh.

⁴ Gladstone's eldest son, William Henry Gladstone (1840–1891).

Charlemont made more blunders and was laughed at as usual. . . . The Spanish Ambassadors is a professed beauty. I think she may truly be called very handsome, but am not disposed to go further.

At this interview the Queen expressed a wish that Mrs. Gladstone should bring Willy and Agnes. Accordingly:

'Lady Lyttelton received us, and we took off the children's things before going in to H.M. She shook hands very kindly, and desired me to sit down by her. The three Royal children were with her. Princess Alice a nice fat baby, thoroughly good-humoured and benevolent. Princess Royal about a head shorter than Willy—very engaging, not exactly pretty, but like the Prince and Prince Albert. The Prince of Wales small and the head not striking me as well-shaped, his long trousers, tied below the ankles and very full, most unbecoming. His manners very dear and not shy. They are evidently quite unspoilt, and I observed the Queen made them obey her. Princess Royal and Willy kissed each other, and she patronised little Agnes, who stood by her and the Prince, quite at home and nearly as tall as the Prince, so much so as to make the Queen observe, "The Prince is the tallest of the two" [he was a year older]. I was much relieved at my children being so good and doing no harm. The Queen observed, "What care Willy takes of "Agnes!" and admired his hair and his width. Agnes's independence amused her, and she was occasionally in fits of laughter at them. Before leaving, the Queen kissed both my children.'

In the autumn of 1845 Gladstone, at his father's request, visited Germany on a mission to his sister who, to the distress of her family, had joined the Church of Rome three years previously and had since been living at Munich. It was here that Gladstone made the acquaintance of the renowned Dr. Döllinger and 'laid the foundations of one of the most interesting and cherished friendships of his life'.

CALAIS, *Sept. 25, 45*

I had heard so much ag^t. Calais wh. I have never seen before that I am rather pleased with it. It is exceedingly clean and the view of it from the sea on entering the harbour has a good skyline with three tower-spire projections of which only one however belongs to a Church. But that is rather a striking building, Notre Dame. I found service going on and made such notes as I could. It seems to be the only Church in the town within the walls—there was a function going on, and a sort of officer to keep order who I am sorry to say smelt strongly of spirits and looked them too. There is an elaborate marble screen behind the altar dated 1622 much of the style of our monuments of that period but with the figures much more modernized and affected. In fact like those of the time of Louis XIV and Charles II as they appeared to me. A fine organ but harsher than our old ones pealed violently from one end, at the other two priests or singers (*cantores*) chanted one on each side of an enormous trombone that completely drowned them, played by an unchurchlike looking man in slippers: the one whom I saw taking snuff liberally between his responses. When I saw the amazing accumulation of gestures, and evolutions almost dancing master like of their priests in celebrating service it never fails to prompt a puritanical reaction in my mind. But let us give due weight to the fact that their congregations are so attentive. There were some fifty present to-day and they appeared absorbed in their work. I was a little surprised to see in the *affiches* of prices for chairs that a stall in the choir may be had for five francs a year—that being properly the clerical part. The charge for chairs at funerals is very high—several francs, varying according to the hour.

MUNICH, *Sept^r. 30, 1845*

I passed Strassburg without seeing it: as it was Sunday I was not sorry to be prevented by the necessity of setting off at once for the railroad (between Kehl and Carlsruhe) from getting a sight of it which must under the circumstances have been a mere sight and so more like a spectacle than a Sunday employment. It is impossible however not to receive some general impressions from the character of these South German Churches, so different from ours, though in point of architecture one is surprised at their great size and particularly their height. The interiors (two) that I have seen have a kind of solemnity and grandeur: and yet it is not rich, it is not sublime, it is not heavenly, it does not *move* one to rapture as the best interiors of our Cathedrals do, or would do if they were as they should be. In Augsburgh there is a singular arrangement of the altars—they are all placed against the pillars of the Nave, one to each, looking westward, and none along the sides of the Church. In the Cathedral here I am sorry to see an arrangement new to me on a principal altar. In the centre, between the candlesticks was a figure of the Blessed Virgin—without our Lord. Then with each candlestick was an angel kneeling, towards the figure in the middle—this is very *strong*. In this country generally by the roads I see few images except of our Lord upon the cross—which I think Arnold wished to see in England. This city seems to be one in which art and munificence have been contending vehemently against great natural disadvantages. It is a dead flat, hot, cold, wet, and foggy—my experience is not good for much, but it has poured with rain almost all day to-day. The architectural character is not interesting: there are a number of great public buildings but they do not make a whole

such as one finds in the towns of the middle ages. Of the pictures whether fresco or others I have as yet seen almost nothing.

Yesterday evening after dinner with two travelling companions and Italian *negoziante* and a German I must needs go and have a shilling's worth of the Augsburg Opera where we heard Mozart (Don Juan) *well* played and very respectably sung. To-day I have spent my evening (for I write just before bed and this will go to-morrow) differently—in tea and infinite conversation with Dr. Döllinger,¹ who is one of the first among the R.C. theologians of Germany—a remarkable and a very pleasing man. His manners have great simplicity, and I am astonished at the way in which a busy student such as he is can receive an intruder. His appearance is, singular to say, just *compounded* of those of two men who are among the most striking in appearance of our clergy, Newman and Dr. Mill. He surprises me by the extent of his information and the way in which he knows the detail of what takes place in England. Most of our conversation related to it. He seemed to me one of the most liberal and Catholic in mind of all the persons of his communion whom I have known. To-morrow I am to have tea with him again and there is to be a third, Dr. Görres² who is also a man of eminence among them. Do not think he has designs upon me. Indeed he disarms my suspicions in that respect by what appears to me a great sincerity. It is different from the reception I had at Birmingham.³ There I was ushered into the room of Mr. Moore the principal priest: a magnificent and enormous book of prints of painted glass windows of Bourges Cathedral lay on the table, and he said 'I was just amusing myself with

¹ The German theologian and historian (1799–1890).

² Johann Joseph von Görres (1776–1848). ³ At Cardinal Wiseman's.

looking at this book'—not altogether convincing me that it was not laid on the table with a view to leading me to a particular kind of conversation. However he was most kind to me and this, no doubt, if a stratagem was a kind one.

MUNICH. *Oct. 2. 1845*

On Tuesday after post I began to look about me: and though I have not seen all the sights of Munich I have certainly seen a great deal that is interesting in the way of art, and having spent a good deal of time in Dr. Döllinger's company, last night till one o'clock, I have lost my heart to him. What I like perhaps most or what crowns other causes of liking towards him, is that he, like Rio,¹ seems to take a hearty interest in the progress of religion in the Church of England, apart from the (so to speak) party question between us, and to have a mind to appreciate good wherever he can find it. . . . He is a great admirer of England and English character, and he does not at all *slur* over the mischiefs with which religion has to contend in Germany. Lastly I may be wrong but I am persuaded he in his mind abhors a great deal that is too frequently taught in the Church of Rome. Last night he spoke with such a sentiment of the doctrine that was taught on the subject of indulgences which roused Luther to resist them: and he said he believed it was true that the preachers represented to the people that by money payments they could procure the release of souls from purgatory. I told him that was exactly the doctrine I had heard preached in Messina—and he said a priest preaching so in Germany would be suspended by his Bishop.

Last night he invited several of his friends whom

¹ Alexis François Rio (1798–1874), French writer and art critic.

I went to meet at an entertainment which consisted first of weak tea, immediately followed by meat supper with beer and wine and sweets. For two hours was I there in the midst of five German Professors, or four and the Editor of a paper, who held very interesting discussions; I could only follow them in part, and enter into them still less, as none of them (except Dr. D.) seemed to speak any tongue but their own with any freedom—but you would have been amused to see and hear them and me in the midst. I never saw men who spoke together in a way to render one another inaudible as they did—always excepting Dr. D. who sat like Rogers, being as he is a much more refined man than the rest. But of the others I assure you always two sometimes three and once all four were speaking at once, very loud, each not trying to force the attention of the others but to be following the current of his own thoughts. One of them was Dr. Görres who in the time of Napoleon edited a journal that had a great effect in rousing Germany to arms. Unfortunately he spoke more *thickly* than any of them.

Well but I had two parties last night—I dined with Mr. Millbank the minister—his wife was Miss Mansfield and has *splendid* black eyes, and the whole upper part of her face like Mrs. G. Hope's—but she produced a baby after dinner (I do not mean that it was born then) of nine months, a little girl, with the most wonderful eyes and eyelashes, in point of size: they, the former, were of the colour of Louey's eyes, but more grey, and they seemed almost to start from the head, which a little disturbed the effect. So you see nursery matters are not altogether out of my head.

This is not a great place for objects to carry away. They seem to have the Bohemian glass in great beauty and if I had known it before I think I should have consulted you on the question whether we might have

made a joint present out of it to Miss G. Harcourt—I have not quite made up my mind not to do it even now, but I think it will probably end in the negative for I do not feel very certain about it—we may perhaps give her something more useful. To-night I went to the Theatre in the hope of hearing good music and getting a good German lesson: it would have been a most effective one if I could have got a *book*, but I could not and so it failed. The instrumental music was good and a chorus or two accurately performed, but they seem to have no distinguished voices.

The oil paintings here contain some of moderate size, which interest me as much as any I ever saw. The gallery derives a great part of its notoriety from a large collection of Rubens' paintings, but of course I found much more interest in its being very rich in the old pictures both of Italy and Germany. There are three little Raphaels of the character of Lady Sykes's not quite so small—two other Raphaels of a very high class, one Francia, one if not two Peruginos, one if not two Fra Bartolommeo's, one of the very highest beauty and interest. Among the Churches I find two that are beautiful—one which with its decorations might very well after but little change be transported into England, it is the Hof Capelle, Court Chapel, in Byzantine Architecture, as is the other that I admire. There is a modern Church of modern Gothic which is very wanting I think in the spirit of that architecture though well meant. The collection of sculpture has a few very beautiful works: and it affords an excellent opportunity for contrasting Thorwaldsen and Canova as the Adonis of the former and the Paris of the latter stand almost close together: and certainly the former seems to me to have an immense superiority.

The frescoes here are the most distinctive objects

of interest and on the whole I have not been disappointed in them: it seems to me as if they had been generally in a very good degree successful and many of the sacred ones in particular please me by the way in which they seem to be imbued with a religious spirit.

Now I do not think that there is much more which I should say about the lions of Munich. I have made acquaintance with Mr. Bushe an intelligent little man in the diplomatic service, and with Lady Charles Somerset who dined at the table d'hôte to-day—but these perhaps you will not consider to be events of the first interest—and as I hear a heavy solid English snore in the next *numero* to my own bedroom it reminds me that I had better turn that way: (by you it is 10.40) saying to you and the little ones, I fear inaudibly but yet heartily Good night. Only I must tell you that in going over the palace in a large promiscuous party of the public, all the men were obliged to put on immense felt slippers which were provided for us to prevent scratching the floors—you may judge that this would have a ludicrous effect enough.

MUNICH. *Sunday Oct. 5. 45*

Last night it appeared that Gilbert Lewis¹ was in the hotel—so the Somersets sent him a message and suggested his performing service for which he was quite willing—the regular clergyman being away. We failed however in getting the keys of the usual Chapel, or I dare say we should have had holy Communion. However we have had prayers in a room in the inn, and about 18 present: much better than nothing. We have them again at 3: meantime I have heard a sermon

¹ Rev. Sir Gilbert Frankland Lewis, brother of Sir G. C. Lewis, the statesman.

at 8 in one of the Churches, and I hope to hear another at five—of the first I have made a record, and also of a most interesting conversation with Dr. D.—I am to have yet one more evening with him please God to-night. I know that not even my saying so much about him will make you uneasy for me. But lest the thought should be suggested to you, let me tell you the effects of my conversations with him is confirmation and corroboration in our position as members of the Church in England though it delights me to find so good and able a man in the Roman Church whose statements command so much my assent and sympathy.

I hear the guns firing for these great festivities: agricultural show, races, and what not. On another day I should have been glad to see them: as far as the races are concerned they belong to those things which I would do here but not in England, not because we should have two standards for two countries but because one comes here to inquire and see, (or in my case being here one should a little inquire and see) and because I believe they make among this people a very innocent amusement.

BADEN. Oct. 12. 45

In my wanderings my thoughts too have had time to travel: and I have had much conversation upon church matters first at Munich, and since coming here with Mrs. Craven¹ and some connections of hers staying with her, who are R.C.s of a high school. All that I see and learn makes me more and more feel what a crisis for *religion* at large is this period of the world's history—how the power of religion and its permanence are bound up with the Church—how inestimably precious would be the Church's unity, inestimably

¹ The authoress (1808–1891).

precious on the one hand and on the other to human eyes immeasurably remote—lastly how loud and how solemn is the call upon all those who hear and who *can* obey it to labour more and more in the spirit of these principles, to give themselves if it may be clearly and wholly to that work. It is dangerous my Cathie to put indefinite thoughts, instincts, longings, into language which is necessarily determinate. I cannot trace the line of my own future life, but I hope and pray it may not be always where it is: not that it may now cease to be so, nor while a reasonable hope remains of serving God there to more purpose than elsewhere: but that that hope may come to an issue, if it be His will. I see too plainly the process which is separating the work of the State from the work of Christian faith. Even now as a consenting party, in a certain sense, and relatively to certain purposes, to that process of separation, I am upon the very outside verge, though with full consciousness, and an undoubting support from within, of the domain which conscience marks to me as an open one. I have a growing belief, that I shall never be enabled to do much good for the Church in Parliament (if at all) except after having seemed first a traitor to it and being reviled as such. I mean that it is now for the highest interest of the Church to give gold for freedom—but there are so many who will not allow the gold to be touched even though they value freedom and so many more who will have the Church to keep all the gold that it may be the price and the pledge of her slavery. Ireland, Ireland! that cloud in the west, that coming storm, the minister of God's retribution upon cruel and inveterate and but half-atoned injustice! Ireland forces upon us these great social and great religious questions—God grant that we may have courage—to look them in the face and to work through them. Were they over—were the path of the Church

clear before her as a body able to take her trial before God and the world upon the performance of her work as His organ for the recovery of our country—how joyfully would I retire from the barren exhausting strife of merely political contention. I do not think that you would be very sorrowful? As to ambition in its ordinary sense, we are spared the chief part of its temptations.

BADEN BADEN. *Oct. 19 1845*

By way of refreshment before going back to my perplexities let me tell you that I did not forget little Agnes¹ yesterday, even to the drinking her health which I fear is rather a feeble method of promoting it. In the evening having tea with my friends Mrs. Craven and her sister in law (who I find is by name Madame Alexandrine de la Ferronais) by birth a Russian Lutheran, now an ardent and very elevated R.C., a widow without children—(Mrs. C. has none either) we talked a little about her and Mad. Alex. told me she had prayed for her. Only think that we are now *six* immortal souls bound together by the very closest of all ties of love and duty—and how much may six souls do for God if they have only the mind in them.

I am extremely grieved to hear of the secession of Mrs. Anstice.² Though I have not seen much of her, she always appeared to me a person of remarkable capabilities, such as one rarely finds: and I think her a great loss. From what the papers say I conclude that Newman is really *gone*; and it is *better* it should be over than that the Church of England should be kept in a

¹ Gladstone's eldest daughter afterwards married to Edward Wickham, Dean of Lincoln.

² Widow of Joseph Anstice (1808–36), who became Professor of Classical Literature at King's College, London, at twenty-two years of age and died five years later.

perpetual fret and fever from rumours of his going while it was known that his intention was to go. This is a heavy blow: but without heavy blows how is it possible to try people's faith and their convictions, or without trial how is it possible to ripen and harden them for the work they have to do.

Of all the men we have in the Church of England Manning is the one to take the lead—he has not exactly Newman's peculiar gifts, but he has one which for a long time, not less than six or seven years, I have not been able to find in it, or his immediate friends—namely *wisdom*. And I think he has looked before and after, and knows his own mind, which N. it seems did not for many years after he had been a distinguished and powerful teacher of religion. God who made him can make for us if need be others like him. There is material enough in England, of every human gift, if only we have the Divine gifts of faith, love and zeal, to bring it out.

(Fragment) 1845

You will scarcely believe that on Saturday evening feeling quite good-for-nothing and not having resolution to set to and write I went to Astleys between eight and nine and saw the tail of a spectacle. Then a man came and played an accordion, rouged and dressed in a pair of elegant false whiskers for the purpose; then most wonderful jumping and horsemanship, with jokes of clown intermixed; and a very bad farce at the end. However I laughed abundantly; indeed a disposition to excessive laughter upon slight cause is one of the signs and attendants of bodily lassitude.

13 CARLTON HOUSE TERR. Dec 4 1845

There is the strangest announcement in the 'Times', not as a rumour but as a fact that the Govt. are to propose the repeal of the Corn Laws. I have not been sufficiently cognisant of the facts relating to the supply of corn lately to be able to form a judgment on the question whether such a thing can be true: but it takes my breath away.

13 C.H.T. Dec 20 1845

As to politics, one does not know what to think or say. The Whigs have failed! It appears they could not agree upon surrendering the whole Corn Law. I hear it rumoured that Lord Grey in this way has broken them up as he insisted upon the *whole*. Before he came they meant to propose a compromise.

I suppose the thing now falls back upon Peel—yesterday he was in high spirits thinking it decidedly best that Lord John [Russell] should succeed in forming a government—to-day I have heard nothing but I conclude he is engaged in considering whether and how he can form one and go on.

If he should determine to form, and *if* he should send to me I am totally uncertain whether I can take office—but my principle, by which under God I hope to decide, is that I am not free to take away the Corn law unless the facts of the Irish can on examination prove to be so great and special as to put the question altogether beyond ordinary rules.

I think from what I hear that the Duke of W[ellingto]n was an acquiescing though not an approving party in Peel's scheme.

13 C.H.T. Dec. 22, 6 p.m., 1845

It is offensive to begin about myself but I must. Within the last two hours I have accepted the office of Secretary for the Colonies—succeeding Lord Stanley¹ who resigns.

The last twenty-four have been very anxious hours—yesterday afternoon (two hours after Holy Communion) Lincoln came to make an appointment on Peel's part. I went to meet him in L's house at five o'clock. He detailed to me the circumstances connected with the late political changes—asked me for no reply—and gave me quantities of papers to read, including letters of his own, the Queen's and Lord J. Russell's during the crisis. This morning I had a conversation with Bonham,² upon the general merits, but without telling him precisely what the proposal made to me was. Upon the whole my mind, though I felt the weight of the question, was clear. I had to decide what was best to be done *now*. I arrived speedily at the conviction that now, at any rate, it is best that the question should be finally settled: that Peel ought and is bound, now, to try it: that I ought to support it in Parliament: that if, in deciding the mode, he endeavours to include the most favourable terms for the agricultural body that it is in his power to obtain, I ought not only to support it by which I mean vote for it in Parliament, but likewise not to refuse to be a party to the proposal. . . . Such being the state of matters, with a clear conscience, but with a heavy heart, I accepted office. . . .

I have seen Lord Stanley—'I am extremely glad to hear that you have taken office,' said he. We go to Windsor to-morrow to a Council. He to resign the

¹ 14th Earl of Derby (1799–1869).

² Francis Robert Bonham, Conservative organiser.

seals, and I, poor creature that I am, to receive them.

13 C.H.T.—no, C.O.—*Dec. 23 1845*

I write in desperate haste. To-day I have been made into a Secretary of State at Windsor and am installed—Lord Stanley leaves town to-morrow morning, in great spirits.

The Duke of Buccleuch remains. He may perhaps be President of the Council, but quite uncertain.

W. CASTLE *Jan. 2 1846*

The children were shown in the corridor yesterday—they are very much come on particularly the two elder ones in looks. The Prince now looks as well and his countenance is as good in expression as can be conceived. It being New Year's day they appeared at dinner and sat through—Lady Lyttelton came in to fetch them away—I thought that a little awkward, and that it would have been better if she had been at the table.

Shortly afterwards Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone were commanded to dine at Buckingham Palace. The following is Mrs. Gladstone's account: 'Dined at the Palace. The Queen 'unbecomingly dressed. Very kind to us, talking much of 'Mary's children and my own, and for some time to William. 'The Queen ordered me to bring my children to her on Saturday. I accordingly took the four—Willy, Agnes, Stephy, and 'Jessy. Her Majesty came in with her four, and was very nice 'and kind. Princess Royal a nice quick thing; not so much 'difference in the heights as last time. Prince of Wales has a 'striking countenance, Alfred very pretty, all have such fat 'white necks. Prince Alfred is a year and a half old. Stephy

'head and shoulders taller at one year and ten months. The Queen commented on Agnes's looks, "I had not heard about her being "so very pretty". Thought Willy pale and Stephen 'gigantic, baby fat and like her father. She took great notice 'of them all, kissed Agnes, and gave them a huge white lamb 'between them all, which the Royal children and ours played 'with very happily during their visit. The Queen spoke of 'their goodness, and asked if they were always so good.'

Another dinner, at which Mrs. Gladstone was not present, is next described.

C[OLONIAL O[FFICE] *Ap. 7 1846*

The dinner at the Palace went off very well—I mean to make a note this evening, if I can, of the conversation I had both with the Queen and the Prince (don't mention this) though I was angry with her for omitting, the first time she has done so, to ask for the children or you. There was no guest but *Ld. Jersey*—the rest were the household and the *Duchess of Kent's* people—I lost *8d.* at a game called *rabusse*—the Prince kept trying to put out the *Duchess of Kent*, in fun, and she as constantly appealed to him in German not to make her confused. I revived a very old acquaintance with *Lady Augusta Bruce*, *Elgin's* sister, who seems a very nice person—she has lived long in Paris and knows *Mrs. Craven's* sister-in-law, whom I have often described to you as a person worthy of remark, personally or by character, I forget which: *raves of Madame St. Aulaire* who she says is a perfect saint. I made a note that *Col. Grey*¹ stood up at grace and talked theology all the time after dinner with *Reverend Courtenay* but the Prince was talking to me, after the ladies went, so that I only heard the sounds now and then.

¹ Charles Grey, then secretary to the Prince Consort and afterwards to Queen Victoria.

C[OLONIAL] O[FFICE] *April 8 1846*

I told the Queen about the amusing article in the Times on Dr. Reid¹ and found the Prince had read her part of it that morning—you see I get bold in thus presuming to introduce a subject.

C[OLONIAL] O[FFICE] *May 23 1846*

Great news: Uncle George is Dean of Windsor!² He came to tell me to-day, in a state, as you may conceive.

To his Father

HAGLEY STOURBRIDGE. *Feb. 15. 1847*

There is an extraordinary but seemingly true story from London that at a recent political dinner at the Carlton Club Lord G. Bentinck³ misconstrued something in a speech of Lord Stanley, that the Duke of Newcastle in some way aggravated the matter, and that Lord G. B. challenged Lord Stanley! but it was in some way made up.

When Parliament dissolved in June 1847 Gladstone became a candidate for the University of Oxford. 'It was a serious 'campaign,' he wrote in later days, and although he did not then realize it, he was taking a step which was to have a marked effect on his future career. Gladstone, who at the time was without a seat in Parliament, was lukewarm about re-entering it. Perhaps the chief reason for his attitude was the growing

¹ David Boswell Reid, M.D. (1805-1863); arranged the ventilation of the Houses of Parliament.

² George Neville Grenville (1789-1854), Mrs. Gladstone's uncle. He assumed the name of Grenville in 1825.

³ Lord George Bentinck (1802-1848).

divergence between himself and his father on the question of Free Trade and his unwillingness to emphasize the difference of opinion between them. Sir John Gladstone held very decided views as a protectionist, and two years later remonstrated with his son in strong terms. 'The extraordinary 'doctrines you advocate,' he wrote, 'do certainly astonish 'me. . . . I told you lately that the world charged you with 'having made Peel a Free Trader and not that he made you 'one and I must conclude the fact is so. . . . You have made 'up your mind and I have long, tho' perhaps old-fashionedly, 'made up mine. I consider you in bad company, politically, 'for dangerous purposes which I think must terminate fatally.' Strongly worded as the letter was Sir John freely acknowledged that his son's views were conscientiously put forward as the honest and sincere expression of his opinions, and it is pleasing to note that there was never any interruption of the affectionate relations which existed between them.

Cardwell, who had been promised Peel's support before Gladstone had been named as a candidate, withdrew his name at an early stage and the anti-Gladstonians had some difficulty in finding a candidate to oppose the future Prime Minister, but at length found one in the person of a Mr. Round. An election squib ran:

A cipher's sought,
A cipher's found,
Its worth is nought,
Its name is Round.

The election¹ was decided in August, and two months later Gladstone paid a return visit to Oxford.

To his Father

13 C. H. TERRACE. *June 1. 1847*

I am not at all surprised at Peel's often leaving the house with Cardwell,² indeed I think it possible there

¹ The result was Inglis 1,700, Gladstone 997, Round 824.

² Edward (afterwards Viscount) Cardwell (1813-1886).

may be a special cause for it. When his secretary was shot by mistake for himself, I believe some arrangement was made, perhaps to satisfy Lady Peel, that some one should always walk home with him. This used commonly to be Lord Hardinge:¹ but Cardwell now lives in the house which he then occupied, next door to Peel, and this seems to account in a natural manner for their frequently leaving the House together. I do not believe that Peel is canvassing against me; I do not think it would be like him: although I can believe that he would much rather see Cardwell member for Oxford.—Be that as it may I apprehend Cardwell is the weakest of the three candidates.

OXFORD. *Oct 26 1847*

I sit down late in the day to scrape together time to write to you. My hours are as you may judge very full: chiefly with giving and receiving visits; reading anything even about the University is nearly out of the question and I have been but to one short and early Chapel to-day. All that I have yet seen and heard is highly gratifying with respect to the temper prevailing here. At the same time I have not yet come across many of those who were indifferent or hostile: to-day we are to have dinner table full of them, but I have no doubt all will go as smoothly as possible. . . .

Yesterday my host² (whose kindness, and that of his wife, is unbounded for their whole little house is either possessed or turned topsy turvy by me) invites part of the Election Committee to dinner and the rest in the evening. He proposed my health after dinner and I his, and his description of the condition in which they

¹ Sir Henry (1st Viscount) Hardinge (1785–1856).

² Richard Greswell (1800–1881), chairman of Gladstone's election committee at Oxford.

found themselves without one of the Heads who has always heretofore governed parliamentary elections on their side excited irrepressible laughter. . . . I have just been seeing an old gentleman of ninety-four, as lively as a squirrel, the President of Magdalen:¹ in some respects he is even more remarkable than Mr. Grenville² was. He was the Head who objected to me as a second man of Ch. Ch. but approved on other accounts.

OXFORD, Nov 2. 1847

This morning in company with Sir R. Inglis³ and under the protection or chaperonage of the Dean⁴ I have made the formal circuit of visits to all the heads of houses and all the Common-Rooms. It has gone off very well—there was but one exception by a head (Corpus) that was not decidedly *kind* and that was only a little cold. Marsham⁵ (Merton) who is a frank warm man, keenly opposed, said very fairly to Inglis, ‘I congratulate you warmly Sir’ and then to me and ‘I would be very glad to do the same to you Mr. G if I could think you would do the same as Sir R. Inglis.’ I like a man for this.

They say the Dean should have asked me to dine to-day with him but I think he may be, and perhaps wisely, afraid of recognising me in a very marked way for fear of endangering the old Ch. Ch. right to the seat which it is his peculiar duty to guard.

We dined yesterday in the Hall at Ch. Ch, it being

¹ Martin Joseph Routh (1755–1854), for sixty-three years President of Magdalen. At the date of Gladstone’s letter he indulged in six-mile walks.

² Probably Thomas Grenville (1755–1846) whose books bequeathed to the British Museum form the Grenville Library.

³ Sir Robert Harry Inglis (1786–1855), represented the University of Oxford for many years.

⁴ Thomas Gaisford (1779–1855).

⁵ Edward Marsham (1786–1880), Warden of Merton College.

a grand day there. Rather unfortunately the undergraduates chose to make a row in honour of me during dinner which the two Censors had to run all down the Hall to stop.

To his Father

6 CARLTON GARDENS. *Ap. 15. 1848*

It is very true that I am often moved to write to you on the course of public affairs, and if I am asked why I have not done it oftener for months past, the true answer is this, that I have usually had no energy or pluck to spare for writing anything except what was matter of necessity or next thing to it. So that I am not well able to collect my ideas for writing on subjects of importance: otherwise there has been a good deal to say on the course of public business.

Next Thursday Lord George Bentinck and Mr. Newdegate¹ are to attack me in the House of Commons with respect to my statement on the timber and silk trades: an intimation which does not cause me much alarm, but Lord George is fond of single combats of this kind, and I have not the least objection to humour him. Sir R. Peel was anxious to be there but I am sorry to say that an illness of Lady Peel's, about which he appears to be uneasy, requires him to leave town.

The conduct of the Government and their mode of handling public affairs is marked by feebleness. Lord John Russell makes many excellent speeches, and I dare say that as head of a department he would be firm enough in the measures belonging to it but with the weightier task now confided to him it is not so.

¹ Charles Newdigate Newdegate (1816-1887), for forty-two years M.P. for North Warwickshire.

CH. CH. *Jan 31 1849*

Everybody here is full of interest about the new plan of Examinations in preparing which great labour has already been bestowed and more will be needed, but I hope that when all has been finally arranged the change will be a very beneficial one. The class of noblemen is almost extinct here, only one undergraduate with a tuft in Oxford, and the gentlemen commoners at Ch. Ch. about half what they were—All this the consequence I fully believe of the very great faults and weakness of the system in its bearing upon them. There could not have been so opportune a period for my visit.

6 CARLTON G. *April 16 1849*

I breakfasted with Rogers¹—Macaulay² was there and very great. Hawtrey³ also was a guest and Mr. Hallam's son.⁴ Mr. Rogers sat like (almost) a corpse except at intervals when by accident he seemed to hear something. He appeared to hear much better in private conversation.

A critical state of affairs arose in Canada in 1849. High feeling had been aroused by the passing of an Act to indemnify those who had suffered losses in the rebellion of 1837–8. It was argued that the Act was framed in such a way that the rebels would derive equal rights with the loyalists. There was an outburst of indignation throughout the Province which culminated in riots in Montreal where the mob burned the

¹ Samuel Rogers (1763–1855), poet who was offered but declined the laureateship in 1850.

² The historian (1800–1859).

³ Edward Craven Hawtrey (1789–1862), then head master, and later Provost of Eton.

⁴ Henry Fitzmaurice Hallam, *ante*.

Parliament House and stoned Lord Elgin, the Governor-General. A declaration in favour of annexation with the United States was signed by several hundred Canadians of standing, whilst on this side of the water politicians were to be found who openly advocated separation. Gladstone took a prominent part in the debates on Canadian and Colonial affairs which occupied Parliament at the time.

6 C. G. *Apr 21 1849*

The news from Canada in to-day's papers is rather alarming. The people there all but in rebellion about these payments to the old rebels.

6 C. G. *June 18 1849*

As yet I have but partially digested my disgust at the Canadian proceedings. It is said that there are bad accounts from the Province¹ to-day. Brougham was with me this morning and talks as if the Lords would not mind us much but I am not aware whether he knows. . . . Saturday evening I went to the South Australian Soiree and was hooked in most unexpectedly and reluctantly for a speech. We heard the Hungarians however again and that beautiful Echo song.

6 C. G. *June 19 1849*

I went last night to Lady Salisbury's and saw Lord Stanley who had seen my letter to Lord Aberdeen. He said that Herries was obliged to move because my speech had stated the case so fully, and a second debate would have been flat. But I told him I thought this altogether insignificant compared with

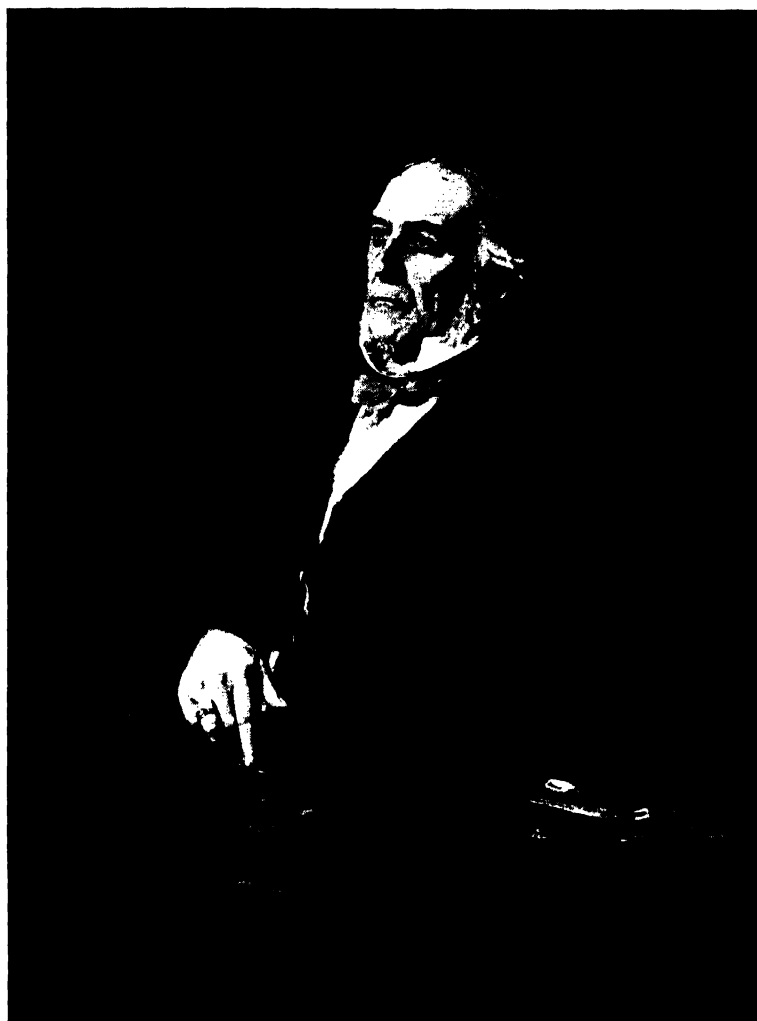
¹ Mrs. Gladstone read this as 'Premier', see letter of June 20th 1849.

the actual damage done to the cause by the proceeding actually taken. He told me they meant to make the best fight they could in the Lords, and said he understood Canning was to vote against them to whom accordingly I wrote to beg him to look carefully into the question. It will certainly be a very gallant thing if the Lords move under the present circumstances.

Lincoln dined with me last night to talk over Vancouvers Island, as his question comes on this evening. I do not know what will happen. If the Protectionists really take it up the Government must be beaten for the radicals will be with us. Peel will again be puzzled—I scarcely think he can speak against us.

H. OF C. *June 20 1849*

I write from the House of Commons where we are discussing Wortley's Bill and going to divide upon it before we adjourn. Last night as you will see we were counted out on Vancouvers Island by the agency of Lord Marcus Hill one of the Govt whippers in. Lincoln spoke three hours and a half, too long for his purpose, and that caused the House to remain there to a period later than is reasonable. He made however a very clear and able statement with only this fault. We shall have the question on again however and the idea is that the Govt will be beaten. Peel went away last night to dine at Norfolk House with the Queen. He will be much bored at finding that he has not escaped the question. . . . Bad accounts from 'the Premier' was a mistake. 'From Canada' it should have been! But oddly enough you will see that poor Lord John fainted last night.



GLADSTONE

From the Painting by Franz Lenbach (v. p. 205)

6 C. G. *June 21 1849*

I do not think James Wortley's¹ party were over much pleased with their decision yesterday, considering the wonderful canvass they have made and the great expense incurred, and likewise that one of the parties most interested is Lord Marcus Hill the Govt whipper in. The Speaker observed to me that he thinks people speak better, with more vigour of mind and body, in the morning sittings than at night. Napier² spoke admirably, with great eloquence, argument, and learning—and I think this was the main foundation of the Speaker's remark.

MARSEILLES. *Tues. July 17 1849*

I find the hotel and inn people complaining loudly that since the Revolution they have no travellers and the business of this place seems to be less even or in a less active state than when I was here with Stephen³ in 1839 10½ years ago. The maître of the Hotel Bristol at Paris did not scruple to say he was hoping for *quelque changement politique* which I fancy meant a restoration, but the difficulty is which of the rival exiles to bring back? It is ludicrous to see 'Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité' painted everywhere and to know that it is not worth the price of the paint used in putting it up. A clear sign of the hollowness of the whole thing is that in the shop windows there are anti-revolutionary souvenirs such as of the Duc d'Orleans family before his death, while on the other hand they abound in caricatures of the National Assembly. Never was there

¹ James Archibald Stuart-Wortley (1805–1881), afterwards Solicitor-General under Lord Palmerston.

² (Sir) Joseph Napier (1804–1882), then M.P. for Dublin University, afterwards Lord Chancellor of Ireland.

³ Sir Stephen Glynne.

so gigantic an imposture acted under the sun and the whole manners and demeanour of almost every Frenchman declare it—they do not know *how* to act the part, and were they real republicans we should not have all that painting of the threefold formula to which I have referred—it is the want of the substance which makes them hug themselves upon the sound or sight of it.

6 C. G. *Feb. 22 1850*

Indeed you do rise to very daring flights to-day and suggest many things that flow from your own deep affection which perhaps disguises from you some things that are nevertheless real. I cannot form to myself any other conception of my duty in Parliament except the simple one of acting independently, without faction, and without subserviency, on all questions as they arise. To the formation of a party, or even of the nucleus of a party, there are in my circumstances many obstacles. I have been talking over these matters with Manning this morning and I found him to be of the opinion which is deliberately mine, namely that it is better that I should not be the head or leader even of my own contemporaries—that there are others of them whose position is less embarrassed and more favourable and powerful particularly from wealth or birth or both. Three or four years ago before I had much considered the matter and while we still felt as if Peel were our actual chief in politics I did not think so, but perhaps thought or assumed, that as up to the then present time I had discharged more prominent duties in office and in parliament, the first place might naturally fall to me when the older men were no longer in the van. But since we have become more disorganised, and I have had little sense of union except with the

men of my own standing, and I have *felt* more of the actual state of things and how this or that would work in the House of Commons I have come to be *satisfied* in my own mind that, *if there was a question whether* there should be a leader and who it should be, it would be much better that either Lincoln or Herbert should assume that post: whatever share of the mere work should fall to me. I have viewed the matter very drily, and so perhaps you will think I have written on it.

To turn then to what is more amusing, the battle of last night.¹ After much consideration, and conference with Herbert . . . I determined that I ought to vote last night with Disraeli: and made up my mind accordingly which involved saying why at some period of the night. I was anxious to do it early, as I knew Graham would speak on the other side and did not wish any conflict even of reasoning with him. But he found I was going to speak and I suppose may have had some similar wish. At any rate he had the opportunity of following Stafford² who began the debate, as he was to take the other side. Then there was an amusing scene between him and Peel: both rose and stood in competition for the Speaker's eye. The Speaker had seen Graham first and he got it. But when he was speaking I felt I had no choice but to follow him: he made so very able a speech that this was no pleasant prospect; but I acquired the courage that proceeds from fear, according to a line in Ariosto.

(One) (another)
Chi per virtù, chi per paura vale,

and made my plunge when he sat down. But the Speaker was not dreaming of me and called for a certain Mr. Scott,³ who had risen at the same time. Upon this

¹ Debate on agricultural distress.

² Augustus Stafford, M.P. for Northamptonshire, North, *d.* 1857.

³ Hon. Francis Scott, then M.P. for Berwickshire.

I sat down again and there was a great uproar because the House, always anticipating more or less interest when men speak on opposite sides, and in succession, who are usually together, called for me. So I was up again and the Speaker deserted Scott and called me, and I had to make the best I could after Graham. That is the end of the story for there is nothing else worth saying. It was at the dinner hour from 7 to 7½ and then I went home for a little quiet. Peel again replied after me but I did not hear that part of him: and Disraeli showed the marvellous talent that he has for summing up with brilliancy buoyancy and comprehensiveness at the close of a debate. You have heard me speak of that talent before when I have been wholly against him: but never, last night or at any other time, would I go to him for conviction, but for the delight of the ear and the fancy. What a long story!

6 CARLTON GARDENS. *May 4 1850*

I have made this rather too much of a pleasure day. I breakfasted at Grillions thinking that I had better do that while you were away than appropriate an evening for dining there after your return—which the rules would have required. Then I had a conference with Herbert about plans of Cathedral Reform and such matters and since that 2½ hours among the pictures, where also I am going to dine sitting, as my card is placed, between Sir Jas. Graham and Mr. Disraeli. It is not as if I had to make any speech there, still I do not feel quite sure whether I was right in accepting.

6 CARLTON GARDENS. *May 5 1850*

Graham did not turn up at the Academy dinner. Disraeli was very pleasant, has plenty to say, and sails near enough to politics without going too near.

6 C. G. *July 24 1*

I write after the incredible gaiety of a concert at Lansdowne House from which I have returned at half past one—a wonderful show of people considering the season. The young Lady Stafford, whom I had not seen before, very nice looking: reminded me of Lady Kildare. Mrs. Craven also was there, just come to England. Very good music, nothing nicer than Madame Viardot¹ accompanying herself to Spanish songs.

H. OF C. *July 26 1850*

To my huge dissatisfaction this question of the Jews has come up after all, in a new form, and threatens to detain me here until Thursday. Rothschild offered himself at the table to-day to swear on the Old Testament whereupon came three hours debate and it is to begin again on Monday.

In April 1851 Gladstone had addressed the first of his famous letters to Lord Aberdeen in which he condemned the horrors, 'fitter for hell than earth', of the Neapolitan Government, but the Prime Minister desired time for consideration, and the weeks rolled on. Chafing at the delay Gladstone could wait no longer and created a sensation by giving the document to the world, following it by a second letter a fortnight afterwards.

¹ Pauline Viardot (1821-1910), French singer and composer.

6 C. G. *July 14 1851*

I have been hard at work nearly all day about the Neapolitans. Fortunato¹ has sent a dispatch which comes to nothing so I publish to-morrow—and the second letter will, I think, be out on Thursday. I have all but finished it—it is not quite so long as the first. Ld. Aberdeen does not much like the matter now but will not ask me to postpone any more and I think sees tho' reluctantly that I ought not.

6 C. G. *July 22 1851*

You will be bored to hear as I am to say that I am threatened with detention over Friday. It is the case of my poor Coalwhippers² which Labouchere³ has unfortunately put off until that day and from which it would I fear be most ungenerous in me to shrink. . . . Canning had a sudden seizure last night and was obliged to break off his speech. It is reported as spoken by Lord Berners which veils the whole thing very well. I understand it was simply physical.

6 C. G. *July 23 1851*

The Times after some delay has been obliged to notice my Letters which will be a blow to the King's people in Naples as they think much of its influence.

¹ Giustino Fortunato (1777-1862), Italian statesman, then Foreign Minister.

² The coalwhippers were engaged in discharging coal in the London docks under miserable conditions.

³ Henry Labouchere, afterwards Lord Taunton (1798-1869).

HAWARDEN *Jan 9 1852*

Lord John is now I think about sixty or thereabouts, and it would not surprise me if he were to play when he goes out the part of Peel so far as to refrain from systematic opposition. I wish he had never stained his escutcheon with the Papal Aggression Bill and Durham letter. Lord Aberdeen now writes against my publishing,¹ but I do not know whether he will stick to that as I have told him it may force me into a full statement in the H. of C.

CUDDESDON *Jan 22 1852*

I am much interested in coming back to poor old Cuddesdon. I think it was here that I first learned to like *hard* work.

6 C. G. *Feb 14 1852*

A 'small party' invitation from Lady Palmerston to-night—I understand Thiers is to be there.

I am just going off to the Museum to do a batch of Farini business with Panizzi² and to arrange how the money for young Settembrini³ is to be invested. My article about Rome is to appear in the next Edinburgh . . . People are very angry with Lord Grey⁴ for the tone of his dispatch recalling Sir H. Smith.⁵

¹ *An examination of the Official Reply of the Neapolitan Government*, by W. E. Gladstone. Published January 29th 1852.

² Sir Anthony Panizzi (1797–1879), librarian of the British Museum.

³ An Italian refugee.

⁴ Then Colonial Secretary.

⁵ Sir Harry George Wakelyn Smith (1787–1860).

In 1852 Lord John Russell's Government fell and was succeeded by the first Derby administration.

6 CARLTON GARDENS *Feb. 21 1852*

When I sent off my letter to you last night at seven I had not an idea what was to happen but at about eight I heard it stated that if they were beaten on Lord Palmerston's amendment they would resign. And so it proved when we divided at nine. The truth is I have no doubt that they anticipate a heavy fall from the Cape debate or division next week and having a fair reason to allege they preferred a light fall a week earlier. Lord John however made a mistake when in reply to Sir B. Hall he announced so expressly that he should cease to be minister. This is not a course respectful either to Colleagues or to the Queen and is not like Lord John's usual practice, but he was somewhat nettled.

I understood from Lord Aberdeen that Lord John was to be with the Queen at five to-day—to make his resignation formally. Forbes Mackenzie¹ went down to Badminton last night to fetch Lord Derby to town. . . . There is a rumour that the Queen desires the Ministers to retain office: but I do not think it credible.

6 CARLTON GARDENS *Feb 22 1852*

I came to the Carlton late and fell in with the best man for news Beresford the whipper in himself in great glee and reporting Lord Derby to be so likewise: he had been writing letters with him for the last two hours. He says that Lord Derby will submit his

¹ William Forbes Mackenzie (1807–1862), author of the Forbes Mackenzie Act.

Cabinet to the Queen to-morrow at two o'clock, which is certainly a very expeditious proceeding. When the House meets it will adjourn to Friday, on Friday the new writs will be moved and then there will be another adjournment till the following Monday week: by that time they reckon on having their men back from the Elections, and being ready to proceed with the public business—the first subject I gather from what B. said will be the Militia Bill. He seems to have some iron in the fire about Ld. Palmerston, but I can hardly guess what. . . .

Stuart of Dunleath¹ has some extraordinary beauties of eloquence and poetry in prose. For instance—'His love to her was one thought among many: but hers for him was the thread on which all other thoughts were strung.'

6 C. G. *Feb. 23 1852*

I send you herewith a list which I believe is correct as far as it goes of the new Ministry. It is not good, as compared I mean, with what it should have been. Disraeli could not have been worse placed than at the Exchequer: Henley² could not have been worse than at the Board of Trade: Emerson Tennent³ for the Irish Secretaryship for he is but a disreputable fellow: and Major Beresford's appointment to the Secretaryship at War is also of a kind to give scandal. T. Baring⁴ who would have been their best Chancellor of the Exchequer seems to have declined. Herries would have been much better than Disraeli for that particular place. I suppose Lord Malmesbury is

¹ A novel by the Hon. Mrs. Norton.

² Joseph Warner Henley (1793-1884). He served a second term of office at the Board of Trade, 1858-9 and declined the Home Office in 1866.

³ Sir James Emerson Tennent (1804-1869).

⁴ Thomas Baring (1799-1873) again declined the Chancellorship of the Exchequer in 1858.

temporary Foreign Secretary to hold the place for Sir S. Canning.¹ What does not appear on the face of the case is who is to lead the House of Commons and about that everybody seems to be in the dark.

6 C. G. *Feb 24 1852*

I have spent the best part of four hours first with Lord Aberdeen, then with Sir J. Graham, where Cardwell came in. The two first dined with me to-day at another party of the same scale as on Saturday. I am a good deal occupied and anxious about our future which is uncertain, all the more so because of the *bad* distribution that Stanley has made of his offices. We have no news this afternoon except that Stafford² is Sec to the Admiralty. Lyndhurst is not to be Privy Seal but in the Cabinet without office.

6 C. G. *Feb 26 1852*

There is no special news to-day. The appointments as you see are pretty nearly full. You may remark the absence of

Ld Lyndhurst—from age

Ld Ellenborough—I do not quite know why

Emerson Tennent—A clever fellow, no better than
he should be, sure to be
looking out for a place

Milnes Gaskell—Declined the India Board—I
suppose did not like the work.

Newdegate—We can't tell why he does not
appear.

¹ Afterwards Lord Stratford de Redcliffe (1786–1880).

² Augustus O'Brien Stafford, then M.P. for Northamptonshire.

In July 1852 Gladstone was re-elected for Oxford University.

TENBY *July 10 1852*

I got here last night about ten from Bristol where I had slept after staying three hours at Didcot on my way from London to see Greswell on Thursday night. Only that day a member of Marsham's¹ Committee, the Principal of Jesus, announced to our friends that the contest was abandoned: but presently someone fell in with *another* of the crew, the Principal of Magdalen Hall,² who said it was not. In short even at the latest moment they did not know their own mind and the whole course of the affair has been disgraceful to them as men of sense and men of business, and most culpable as respects the credit of the University. Here I am some two hundred miles from the poll, without any power of hearing about it or much curiosity—it is impossible to feel a great anxiety about a seat to be held it seems at the pleasure of these gentry upon terms quite different from those on which I supposed I was accepting it.

6 C. G. *July 13 1852*

I have ruminated much on this Oxford Election, without ever giving a moments thought to the mere result of the poll. I see that it will damage Inglis's position a good deal: for last time he nearly equalled the joint numbers of Round³ and me. Whereas this time he will be much short of it and not far short I think of half my votes will be plumpers. Possibly I may not hear the result of the Election till I reach Hawarden. I see the returns get worse and worse for the Peelites.

¹ R. B. Marsham, the third candidate in the election.

² Martin Joseph Routh, *ante*.

³ C. G. Round, who contested the University in 1847.

I had three nights at Tenby and three bathes in the sea which is charming there for you can bathe at all times of tide. The climate there is excessively mild but there is the disadvantage for *you* that the country is treeless and the drives shadeless. Nanny is my delight. The old soul is round and plump, something like a Mrs. Rushton in figure: so motherly in her care. Her grammar would please Naples Mary, for she says 'Please Sir it's struck eight by we!' She has been for thirty-seven years waiter in the Cobourg Hotel: was born three miles from Tenby—and her longest journey has been 'going *onst* to Pembroke'—ten miles off. Such is Nanny of the Cobourg to whom I might have sung 'O Nanny will ye gang wi' me.'

HAWARDEN. *Sep 2 1852*

I am reading Kenilworth and think it great. On looking back to dates I think I read all Walter Scott's as they were published from the time of Ivanhoe when I could not have been above ten—and this accounts for my not having liked Kenilworth at that period.

HAWARDEN. *Sep 16 1852*

I send Willie¹ the Guardian that he may be able to read about the Duke of Wellington.

That death is indeed a great event, although the hero has been politically dead for some time. The class of great men is a very very small one but he in the main belonged to it.

The story of Disraeli's Budget of 1852 and its defeat is too well known to need repetition. Gladstone's account of it and

¹ His son, William Henry Gladstone.

the formation of the new Government is given in the letters that follow.

6 C. G. *Dec 2 1852*

Disraeli's budget certainly comes on to-morrow and the curiosity is *intense*. The Speaker says he has been utterly overrun with applications. It is the debate or rather statement for which for the present the course of public affairs and the form of political combinations will probably depend.

6 CARLTON GARDENS *Dec 3 1852*

I write from H. of C. at 4½ just expecting the Budget. All seem to look for startling and dangerous proposals. You will have them in the paper of to-morrow be they what they may. If there is anything outrageous we may protest briefly at once: but I do not expect any extended debate to-night. We are extremely disgusted at the meagre and ridiculous terms of the Resolution to be moved in the H. of Lords about Free Trade: it is hard to say whether it is least creditable to Ld. Derby or to Ld. Clanricarde who had no business to meddle with the matter and has handled it miserably. The rush for places in the H. of C. to-night is immense. We shall probably hear to-night what course the Government are to take as to any vote upon the Budget and then will be the time to speculate on my movements.

6 CARLTON GARDENS *Dec 6 1852*

Dizzy's speech on Friday was not good as a speech: wordy, ill arranged, omitting many things that were necessary or proper to be introduced, and full of trumpery matter that would have been better omitted.

But all this signifies little: in a moral point of view it was not less disgusting and repulsive than the former one.

6 C. G. Dec 8 1852

Be sure to read Lord Derby's speech on Monday. His reference to the cause of his quarrel with Ld. Geo. Bentinck was most striking and is interpreted as a rap at Disraeli. I have had a long sit to-day with Lord Aberdeen talking over possibilities. . . . Mean time I am convinced that Disraeli's is the least Conservative Budget I have ever known.

6 C. G. D. 15 1852

I have been down at the House almost all day trying to unravel a dodge of Disraeli's about the manner in which the question is to be put by which he means to catch votes: and I *think* after full consultation with the Speaker and Wilson Patten¹ that this will be accomplished. The debate may close to-morrow night. I am sorry to say that I have a long speech fermenting in me and I feel as a loaf might in the oven. The Govt. it is thought are likely to be beaten.

H. OF C. Dec 16 1852

I have been engaged in the House till close on post time, Disraeli trying to wriggle out of the question and get it put upon words without meaning to enable men to vote as they please, i.e. his men or those favourably inclined to him. But he is beaten on this point and we have now the right question before us. It is not now quite certain whether we shall divide

¹ Afterwards Lord Winmarleigh (1802-1892).

to-night: I hope we may for it is heavy work waiting with a speech fermenting inside one.

6 CARLTON GARDENS Dec 17 1852

We had an evening of the most intense interest. It began with a struggle of two hours on the point what question should be put; our purpose being to screw Disraeli up to the mark and oblige him to vote on an intelligible issue instead of a vague one. At length this was accomplished. The general debate then went on. He rose at 10.30 and spoke till one. His speech on the whole was grand: I think the most powerful I ever heard from him. At the same time it was disgraced by shameless personalities and otherwise. I had therefore to begin by attacking him for these. I see my speech is scarcely reported in the Times: i.e. about half may be given. My great object was to show the Conservative party how their leader was hoodwinking and bewildering them—and this I have the happiness of believing that in some degree I effected, for while among some there was great heat and a disposition to interrupt me when they could I could *see* in the faces and demeanour of others quite other feelings expressed. But it was a most difficult operation and altogether it might have been much better effected.

Well you see the Govt. is beaten—immense cheering followed the announcement and indeed the House was for the last five or six hours in a state of towering excitement. To-day there has been a Cabinet and at three o'clock Lord Derby went down to Osborne with a view as is supposed to resignation—indeed it can hardly be anything else. . . . My nervous excitement has not yet thoroughly subsided: but I *hope* to sleep to-night, please God, like a stone.

6 C. G. Dec 18 1852

I have never gone through so exciting a passage of parliamentary life. The intense efforts which we made to obtain, and the Govt. to escape, a *definite* issue and which you might notice in the bye discussions, were like a fox-chase and prepared us all for excitement. I came home at 7, dined, read for a quarter of an hour, wetted my head, and actually contrived (only think) to sleep in the fur cloak for another quarter of an hour: got back to the House at nine. Disraeli rose at 10.20 and from that moment I was of course on tenterhooks, except when his superlative acting and brilliant oratory from time to time absorbed and made me quite *forget* that I had to follow him. There was a question whether it would not be too late but when I heard his personalities I felt there was no choice but to go on. The House I think has not been so excited for years. The power of his speech and the importance of the issue, combined with the lateness of the hour which always operates, were the causes. My poor brain was strung very high and has not yet quite got back to calm but I slept well last night. On Thursday night after two hours of sleep I awoke and remembered a gross omission I had made which worked upon me so that I could not rest any more. And still of course the time is an anxious one, and I wake with the consciousness of it, but I am very well and really not unquiet. When I came home from the House I thought it would be good for me to be mortified. Next morning I opened the Times, which I thought *you* would buy, and *was* mortified when I saw it did not contain my speech but a mangled abbreviation. Such is human nature at least mine. But in the Times of to-day you will see a very curious article descriptive of the last scene of the debate. It was evidently written by a man who must

have *seen* what occurred or been informed^v by those who did so. He by no means says too much in praise of Disraeli's speech. I am told *he* is much stung by what I said. I am very sorry it fell to me to say it: God knows I had no wish to give him pain, and really with my deep sense of his gifts I would only pray they might be well used.

6 C. G. *Dec 20 1852*

It is by far my great pleasure in what happened on Thursday night as to myself that it makes your heart thrill with joy. In other respects it is perhaps dangerous: I am tempted to look back upon it whereas the true way is to look forward or only to look back for the purpose of regretting shortcomings and faults. At the present time it is a great cause of regret to me not to have you at my side—I could then keep you informed piecemeal of all that is going on which of course is impossible as matters now stand. For to-day I have little to say except that I hope to have more to-morrow—that the basis of a government is still uncertain—that the Queen is as cordial as you would expect—and that Lord Aberdeen has behaved up to this moment with admirable circumspection and good sense and feeling. . . . Strange to say Lord Derby has been making a most petulant and intemperate speech in the House of Lords on his resignation: such that Newcastle was obliged to rise after him and contradict the charge of combination: while nothing could be better in temper, feeling and judgment than Disraeli's farewell.

6 C. G. *Dec 21 1852*

Keep close this letter and what I am going to say. Ld J[ohn] R[ussell] consents and has behaved very

well. P[almerston] refuses which is a serious blow. To-morrow I think we shall get to detailed arrangements about which I do not expect extraordinary difficulty. But I suppose P. is looking to become the leader of a Derby opposition: and without him, or rather with him between us and the Conservatives I cannot but say the game will be a very difficult one to play. Lord Derby's proceedings yesterday were hostile and intemperate to the last degree. He went beyond all usage and propriety in choosing such an occasion for such a speech. It is uncertain whether I shall be Ch. of Exr. or Sec. for the Colonies: one of the two I think certainly: and the Exchequer will certainly come to Graham or me.

6 C. G. Dec 22 1852

I am disappointed in having nothing like real progress to communicate by this post. One main cause is that the Queen has commanded Lord Aberdeen's attendance at Windsor at an inconveniently early hour—and we have not yet absolutely settled with Lord J. R. He is unwilling to take the burden of an *office* at all, and we are fearful of the innovation of having a leader without an office. *Much may turn* on this: and Ld Aberdeen's Premiership is *less* certain than at this time yesterday, but I think we shall settle the matter in the course of this evening when we meet again. The P. alliance is not yet, strange to say, quite dead—Lord Lansdowne works in that quarter and Lord Clarendon in the other—but all with the same friendly intention: and there are no difficulties either political or what are commonly called personal. The Whigs I am bound to say have behaved very handsomely. The Radicals through the Daily News write rather stiffly and jealously. At headquarters I

understand they say 'Mr. G destroyed the Budget so he ought to make a new one'—however we are trying to press Graham into that service.

6 C. G. *Dec 23 1852*

The combination of men in this Government will be exceedingly strong and I am satisfied we shall have moderate and safe measures. And we shall need all the strength that can be had to settle the finances. I much regret not having Lord St. Leonards. Hardinge of course remains Commr. in Chief. The Q. wrote to Ld. Abn. her wish that I should be Ch. of Exr.—We pressed it on Graham but he refused it point blank. I have just been to Palmerston, to shake hands and congratulate! You will see my letter in the papers about Lord Derby's speech; also perhaps an account, not at all accurate, about a row at the Carlton, by which I have taken no harm.

4. AT THE EXCHEQUER

A brief outline of the years 1852 to 1868, during which Gladstone attained fame as the greatest Chancellor of the Exchequer in English history, may be given here as a guide to the letters which follow. It was upon the downfall of the Derby administration in 1852 that Gladstone became Chancellor of the Exchequer for the first time. Accepting office in Lord Aberdeen's Coalition Government, which witnessed the outbreak of the Crimean War, he retained the post until the fall of the ministry in 1855. The year 1857 saw Gladstone in active hostility to the Divorce Bill which had then been brought forward, and in 1858 he undertook a mission as Lord High Commissioner to the Ionian Islands. Returning to England in 1859 he became, under Lord Palmerston, Chancellor for the second time, and introduced eight Budgets before a change of government in 1866 involved his resignation.¹ Upon the death of Lord Palmerston in 1865 Gladstone had become leader of the House of Commons, and in 1867 succeeded Lord John Russell as leader of the Liberal Party.

Lock and Key

6 C. G. Dec 24 1852

Be most secret. My last gleam of a Christmas visit and embrace has vanished. We are all abroad again—J. Russell as weak as water, a puppet pulled by strings from without. He does not know his own mind for 12 hours together: and it is solely owing to his incessant shifting that we lose day after day and threaten to become ridiculous. To-day we have many new demands, after we have published the bulk of the Cabinet in Times and M. Chronicle—after Lord John

¹ Gladstone also held the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer from 1873 to 1874 and again from 1880 to 1882. In all he introduced twelve Budgets and also a supplementary Budget in 1880.

had let two leading men of his constituents call on me as C. of E. with reference to a matter of great importance to his Election—after his own full, cheerful, and absolute approval—last not least *after* the Q. had seen and approved all, waiving for the public good some wishes of her own. You may well guess she is not over pleased. Ld. Abn. behaves admirably. He has considered what concessions can be made and has sent his ultimatum as *Minister* not as a mere negotiator.

WINDSOR CASTLE, *Dec. 28 1852*

We have just had our Council and have got the Seals: so the train is fairly started, after no small amount of difficulty. God speed it! Some murmurings about Oxford but no means of knowing whether they will lead to a contest or not. I think it very uncertain whether they will find a candidate, but if they get a good one then very uncertain what the issue may be.

DOWNING STREET, *Dec 29 1852*

This is the most crowded and hurried birthday I think that I have ever had but I rejoice to think that you are all enjoying your tree. Meantime I hope I have done some good service in rather inclining Canning's mind to take the office of Postmaster General which has been pressed upon him: he did not however express himself as quite reconciled to it and I did not like to put the question to him directly. We have a Cabinet dinner at Lord Aberdeen's to-night and for to-morrow we are both invited by Lord and Lady John Russell!! I go. . . .

I must however tell you as it bears upon your plans that I have been over the official house and am very

agreeably surprised with its goodness both as to accommodation and as to state. There is now only one drawingroom but a large and *very pretty* room newly done up and looking out over the Park. The dining room rather small but good and comfortable. The living rooms concentrated on the first floor, and all the ground floor appropriated as my office. The bedrooms numerous and airy. The servants accommodation above stairs good. Below fair: the servants hall very small. There are official stables—nearer than ours at No. 6, though not very near. The access to the Park is easy and private, through a garden nominally belonging to the First Lord of the Treasury. To-morrow I shall try and learn how I stand in reference to the furniture, &c., but the first floor the most expensive part I understand is furnished by the State.

DOWNING STREET, *Dec 31 1852*

I see you are most favourably inclined to coming into Downing Street and on the whole that is my feeling but I have not yet got all the information requisite for a judgment. The books would have to remain that is the bulk of them at No. 6.

We had a 'happy family' party at Lord John's—Two J. R's, two Palmerstons, Ld Aberdeen, our two Dukes¹ and myself. Only think of my sitting at a political dinner *between* Lds. Aberdeen and Palmerston, and everybody perfectly disembarassed and at ease!

D. ST. *June 29 1853*

The banquet at the Palace last night was very grand—but among the sights of the evening nothing

¹ Dukes of Argyll and Newcastle.

like the King of Hanover—of whose appearance I remember that you raved, and most justly. The Archbishop¹ rather mumbled—and the music in the Chapel was somewhat theatrically done, but I thought the King's composition beautiful.²

D. ST. *Aug 10 1853*

I have been visiting a great rifle man and was almost tempted to order one, the price of an efficient one being £70! But I got away and have rather satisfied myself since I got out of the shop that this would be an unwarrantable piece of selfishness.

D. ST. *Aug 12 1853*

I went to the spectacle³ yesterday and very fine it was. But I the less begrudge your absence as I am sure you could not have stood the fatigue at all. We left London 5½ and got back at 9¼ but others were much later. I had a sitting at the House afterwards. The guns were so powerful that I felt the stroke on my chest when they fired. The sailing ships were of course far more beautiful.

To-day I made an effort and went to see old Rogers⁴ who wound up with saying 'Give my love to your wife—if there is anyone I *worship* it is her'—This is for you.

¹ J. B. Sumner.

² George V, the blind King of Hanover, a cousin of Queen Victoria, was a musician of some merit. For the christening of Prince Leopold, the occasion referred to in this letter, he had set the 89th Psalm to music.

³ Naval review at Spithead.

⁴ Samuel Rogers, *ante*.

In 1853 were heard the first rumblings of the Crimean War.

D. ST. Oct 4 1853

I have been pretty busy but without Parl't one does not have those *violent* days of business which abound while it is sitting. . . . I can hardly at this moment write about anything else than the Turkish Declaration of War. This is a most serious event: and at once raises the question are we to go into it. The Cabinet meets on Friday: and you must not be surprised at anything that may happen. The weather may be smooth, it also may be *very rough*.

Private

D. ST. Oct 7 1853

We have had our Cabinet 3½ hours: all there but Graham and Molesworth¹ who would both have been strongly for peace. We shall have another to-morrow to look over our results in writing: some startling things were said and proposed but I think that as far as Gov't is concerned all will probably keep straight at this juncture, and as to war I hope we shall not be involved in it even if it goes on between R[ussia] and T[urkey], which is not quite certain.

WINDSOR, Oct 25 1853

The Queen was very gracious last night—talked about Dunrobin, Glenquench, Western scenery and Manchester with the last of which she is much pleased. The Duch. de Brabant is but 17, very fresh looking and pretention to be pretty. The Princes lanky and

¹ Sir William Molesworth (1810–1855).

unhealthy looking in frame. The King [of Hanover] courteous as ever. Princess Charlotte does not appear.

D. St. *Mch 28 1854*

Our news of to-day is that we have just come through a division in which D[Israeli] & Co voted against us in the hope of a triumph (Walpole going away) by a majority over fifty—And that we have just announced the Oxford Commission. . . . This is very good. But war, war, war; that is the excitement and turmoil of the moment and I fear it will swallow up everything good and useful.

D. St. *Mch 29 1854*

To-day at a Council we have been passing the orders, &c., connected with the War: which has begun:—it is no longer the future—this is fearful but we do not yet know the real meaning of the word.

D. St. *Oct 18 1854*

Yesterday Mrs. Lindsay came here and offered her services in the most modest way possible as a nurse for Constantinople. She went on to the Nurses Institution where the proceedings are going on as Herbert tells me under the auspices of Miss Nightingale. . . .

We have letters to-day from the army and fleet in the Black Sea but only up to the 3rd. Both Ld. Raglan¹ and Sir E. Lyons² write in good spirits and without fear; and the reinforcements which Ld. R. will have

¹ In command of the Crimean army.

² Afterwards Lord Lyons (1790–1858). Then second in command of the Mediterranean fleet.

received will have brought *his* army i.e. the British up to some 36,000 men besides what he may get from the fleet who were by the accounts 2,000 to 3,000. On the other hand the sickness is immense: over 6,000: but I should hope from the tone in which they write that much of it may be slight. The Russians have 30,000 men in Sebastopol and 25,000 outside. It is not known whether Menschikoff¹ is within the walls. Provisions have been passed in: the garrison work night and day at fresh defences: and 50 vessels have been sunk to block up the entrance into the sea of Azof as they have already blocked that into the harbour of Sebastopol. There were many heavy guns landed from the fleet. The English have the post of honour: and are very well placed for meeting an attack if there is one from the Russians outside. It did not then seem quite certain where the fire could open but when it does it will be very strong.

Nothing was known about Russian reinforcements.

D. St. Nov. 10 1854

I will give you such news as I can about the war—it does not come to much but there is nothing bad. An exaggerated Prussian account of the Russian armies gives Menschikoff 80,000 men, *if* all the reinforcements meant for him have reached him, but without allowing for his losses during the siege, besides which we believe that a portion of the reinforcements have certainly not reached him. On the other hand the French maintain that they had 50,000 men including a portion of Turks on October 18 at which time reckoning in the same way we had near 40,000 on the ground. In point of numbers therefore there does not seem to

¹ Russian commander-in-chief.

be anything to fear and what we understand is that the Allies were waiting to make good a portion of their lines to the eastward against the covering army which would be done when some French then expected had arrived, and that having thus secured their rear they would probably be in a condition for the assault about the 4th or 5th. We do not *know* whether Liprandi¹ still holds or not the redoubts which he took from the Turks.

D. ST. *Nov. 12 1854*

The reports from 22nd to 26th October, leaving camp the 28th, have arrived. The conduct of the cavalry seems to have been magnificent beyond all praise and that of the Turks villainous beyond all belief—they did not even stay to spike the guns, but there were three separate redoubts from which they ran away, in each there was *one* English artillery man and each of these three artillery men remained to spike the guns!

The heavy cavalry were entirely successful, in their charges, but I lament to say Grey Neville² is 'severely' wounded. I am writing to Lady Braybrooke. No other Neville is in the list of killed and wounded which reaches for 5 days, including this bloody action, to 426.

D. ST. *Dec. 13. 1854*

The assault on the Govt. has not proved at all formidable.³ S. Herbert made a most excellent statement which quite broke the force of it. Disraeli except

¹ Russian general, of whom the rhyme ran:

John, Pat and Sandy
Met General Liprandi,
And a jolly good licking he got.

² He had died the previous day.

³ Debate on the Address.

in a very few sentences was as dull as ditch water: Pakington¹ much better both in tone and in his handling of the subject. The course of business is likely to run smooth unless a Bill we have for the enlistment of Foreigners should give rise to opposition. But I suppose we shall not get through till the end of next week.

As will be seen from Mrs. Gladstone's reply which follows, she held very decided views upon Lord John Russell's leadership.

'Dec. 15, 1854

'... According to Mrs. Herbert's letter, Johnny² sent 'for him to compliment him upon his (S. H.'s) speech—'whilst *Ly.* John went off, as soon as he began, from the 'ladies gallery! Oh dear, I trust you will start fair without 'the clog wch. will some day drag you all down if he is eternally 'forgiven—it is certain that you wd do very well—look at 'the country's feeling for the present Government—depend 'upon it the general sense is very strong in its confidence and 'instead of its being a bad time to get rid of the present leader 'it is a very good one. Oh do put yr. whole weight in the 'scale—you will never repent it. Ld A. with all his goodness 'wants screwing up, and I cannot forget what you said to him 'about its being the *last time*, well surely *you must stick to this*—'you will perhaps answer "it does not lie with me"—but *your* 'advice to Ld A. wd turn the scale. If Lord John is allowed to 'remain you will bitterly repent it.'

D. St. Dec 16 1854

There is no need of your urging me on the subject to which most of your note refers for we are in the same sense: and so in fact is Lord Abn. himself but

¹ Sir John Somerset Pakington, afterwards Lord Hampton (1799–1880).

² Lord John Russell.

there is more to consider in the case than depends on our inclinations. Meantime the manner and language in Cabinet to-day seem to show that *he*¹ regards his own correspondence, convictions, resolution and menaces as mere moonshine and intends to let all remain as it is.

Secret

D. ST. Dec 18 1854

I have not yet begun with the state of politics and I shall say little. J.² has formally retracted: and such is his insensibility to what honour and decency require that he meant to do this in silence—and that even now he makes no sort of apology to those whom he has wounded. To my great satisfaction she [the Queen] says that his retraction only lowers him the more in her opinion: this is most secret. He has however taken up the Kennedy³ affair with a high hand: still having Lord Aberdeen for his final aim. But I think that in that matter he will get as good as he gives. I could not be very sorry if we were beaten to-morrow on the Enlistment Bill. And in any case I think our internal relations are too bad to remain long without getting worse or better.

D. ST. Dec 19 1854

Rien de saillant n'est arrivé dans nos affaires—but they drag on in a disagreeable way and it is highly probable that even Kennedy may be the cause of some split. It is needless and hardly practicable to describe the details, but you will hear the moment anything

¹ Lord John Russell.

² Lord John Russell.

³ A Government official accused of malpractices.

tangible comes up out of the communications. Meanwhile I need not say it makes official life eminently revolting to have a series of these proceedings continually going on, especially after in the War Ministry affair the colour of them became so extremely dark. We have now just begun the debate on the Foreign Enlistment Bill. The present temper of the House is unfavourable: dead on our side, lively in the Opposition: if the Bill passes it will be in order to keep the Government in: but to me personally, and I think to some others of us, it will be a relief to be beaten, after the state to which our internal relations have come.

DOWNING ST. *Dec 20 1854*

After all the majority proved considerable. Three members of the Cabinet who voted, to my knowledge, namely Graham and Molesworth with myself, received the announcement of it with indifference or something less. I am going to dine with Herbert for I believe he is appeased and thinks me unreasonable: but it will be difficult to change my mind: honour seems to me involved: and I think that our proceedings of the last month if known would justify a vote of censure.

D. ST. *April 12 1855*

I discussed politics at Lady Wharncliffe's and our views fell in very well with each other. To-day I have seen Argyll who desponds exceedingly about peace and thinks Russia will concede nothing as to the Fleet. Denison¹ too has been here and is greatly dissatisfied with the condition of the Government, most of all

¹ John Evelyn Denison (1800-1873), afterwards Speaker and Lord Ossington.

with Lord John. He thinks however that P[almerston] and he will go on together in the H of Commons.

We are invited to the ball at Windsor on the 18th—no it is the 'Evening Party'—I suppose a concert or rout. There is a special train there and back.

H. OF C. *July 10, 1855*

One yet more hurried line to say that Sir E. Bulwer¹ has just given notice that he will move, on Friday next if possible, that Lord J. Russell's conduct at Vienna has shaken the confidence of the country in those to whom the direction of its affairs is entrusted.

Ld. A[berdeen] told me Derby and Dizzy had had a long conference and this is I suppose the fruit of it. Roebuck who was below me said audibly when the words were read 'not half strong enough'. I suppose the day of its coming on may be a little uncertain but (as Sir Graham says) I think 'there is death in the pot'.

10 D. ST. *July 13 1855*

The prevailing idea is that the Government cannot escape from their frightful and unexampled position. I have just learned from H. Lennox² (on the authority of Bessborough and the D. of Northumberland, secret) that Lord John is actually out. But even this I think will *now* probably be too late and will fail to take off the edge of the attack: and although all is misty and foggy the most probable issue will be Derby's advent to power in the middle or end of next week. Indeed I can scarcely yet feel sure that the Govt will dare to fight the battle at all.

¹ Better known as Lord Lytton, the novelist.

² Lord Henry Lennox (1821-1886).

You can hardly conceive how Lord John is spoken of on all sides. If he has been allowed by his colleagues to resign, no doubt it is owing to menacing indications from the bosom of his own party.

10 GT. GEORGE ST. *July 14 1855*

I had time to tell you last night that he [Lord John Russell] was out. This even increases our difficulty. For if the Govt get a majority by allowing him to bear the punishment of an inclination to peace, the effect of the vote will be all for war. Lord Aberdeen is at Blackheath and I have missed him to-day. Graham will not be here most probably until Monday morning.

The Daily News has a very savage article against the Govt on account of this forced resignation: while they vehemently condemn Lord John's pacific movement too. Again Lord J has tried to put on the character of a war man and so has made himself for the present at least of little or no use to us. It is altogether a sad imbroglio.

H. OF C. *July 18 1855*

Certainly this is a wonderful country for locomotion. At a quarter before five I was opening letters in Mrs. Talbot's house, after having had near half an hour with Lord Aberdeen, and been to order some waistcoats which I hope and expect will have your approval nay admiration.

John Russell keeps his place: or at least holds to the Govt but I rather imagine he will pull them down if they stick to him. Most private—their recollections dont agree with his speech! He now says it was misunderstood! The French were ready for peace

before the last repulse but are *not now*. The Emperor wanted to recall Pelissier¹ whom everybody considers chargeable with the late disaster: but our Govt dissuaded him. This also for yourself.

W. CASTLE, *Dec 3 1855*

I have seen the Duchess of Sutherland who was writing to you and told me some things about the King [of Sardinia]² who must be odd, but the general effect is rather better than you would have supposed. He calls his brother the dead Duke of Genoa *ce pauvre diable!* . . . We are an immense party: the Derby people represented by Lord and Lady D and Lord Malmesbury.

4. C. H. T. *Dec. 5 1855*

The King of Sardinia is in appearance and manner a strange being: as little as possible I should think of a politician or statesman, but they all think him sincere. Cavour is not distinguished looking but his ability comes out in conversation.

4. C.H.T. *Mch. 27, 1856*

One line by the late post to tell what you will receive with interest—that good and noble Lady Pembroke³ died at 5 minutes before 5—all her family round her—her soul in the love of God—nothing wanting but a certain knowledge of the end of that war which I fear was her death.

¹ General in command of the French forces.

² Victor Emmanuel II, afterwards King of Italy.

³ Daughter of Count Woronzow, for some time Russian Ambassador to England.

BRITISH MUSEUM. *Sat. April 5 1856*

If you have the 'Times' you will see that Palmerston last night replied with extraordinary asperity to an innocent little speech¹ enough of mine. Thereby it is evident in some way or other hangs a tale, and if I rightly guess the cause it is a curious one.

10. GT. GEORGE ST. *July 3, 1856*

I had a most merry conversation with Palmerston at the Palace last night: Clarendon seem determined to avoid me, but I may be mistaken; such things are foolish. I did not go an inch beyond the truth in any one point. Lady P. was there and bowed very civilly. I could not for my life get a bow to the Queen—she would go always the wrong way.

OXFORD *Jan 27 1857*

Here am I writing hurriedly from the Oxford Debating Society's rooms that I may go to Church and yet not miss the early post to the North. My life here is always filled full and now fuller than ever as there are all manner of University questions astir, and besides these I have long Homeric talks with all persons whom I find fit to victimise. As far as I can see they are in good humour and I do not *hear* any evil reports about myself.

OXFORD *Jan 28 1857*

You would be amused to see me here *more* busy than I have ever been on any former visit owing to the addition of Homer, Radcliffe Trust affairs, and other

¹ On our relations with America.

matters, to my several occupations here. The day is full of labour and interest, though it wears merely a social face, from the beginning to the end. I must however mention two things: one I have been *excessively* gratified by receiving from Dr. Cardwell¹ an offer to propose that my work on Homer should be printed at the University Press—the other that I am quite delighted, though diversely, both with *Meade*² and *Tollemache*³ whom I have called upon. The latter is deeply interesting and the former without exception one of the nicest fellows I ever saw in my life. There is a spice of his Uncle Sidney in him.

To Sir Stephen Glynne

11, CARLTON H. TERRACE, Feb 28 1857

You will I am sure readily believe that it is not lightly that I write to you for a purpose which may seem to ask of you a possible sacrifice of your personal ease, to however moderate an extent. But the truth is that we have lived into times, politically more disastrous to the honour of the country, than any we have formerly seen—For the first time is her government guided by a man without convictions of duty: by a man who systematically panders to whatever is questionable or bad in the public mind, who lives simply on the dissension of those who disapprove of his policy, and who now at last seems to have overshot his mark. . . . Attendance on the House of Commons is not *now* like what it was in the Peel and Melbourne times. First there is not the same close and constant fighting: secondly the increased facilities of locomotion have

¹ Edward Cardwell, the church historian (1787–1861).

² (Sir) Robert Henry Meade (1835–1898), of the Colonial Office.

³ Probably Hon. Lionel Arthur Tollemache (1838–1919), who in later years wrote reminiscences of Gladstone.

added greatly to the freedom of members of Parliament: as you may well judge from *my* having pitched at Hawarden during the month of June in two successive years.

HN. *June 25. 1857*

They have made a deplorable business with the Divorce Bill in the Lords but what can one expect when the Bp of Exeter and De Tabley support the Bill, and when George has no opinion upon it. The Bp of Oxford has done himself great honour but I suppose as a further sacrifice of popularity and prospects.

H. OF C., *July 2 1857*

I came straight to the House and have seen a number of people: sat to Marochetti¹ who is getting highly satisfied with the likeness, approves of removing the quasi-beard, and summarily did it as far as he was concerned with a chisel. I go to him again to-morrow.

In 1857 the Prince of Wales (King Edward VII) paid his first visit to Germany and, at the request of the Prince Consort, Gladstone's eldest son accompanied him. Other members of the party included F. Stanley (Earl of Derby), C. L. Wood (Viscount Halifax) and G. H. Cadogan (Earl Cadogan).

11 C. H. T. *July 28, 1857*

I have sent Willy off to the Admiralty to dine and start. It may be no unimportant start for him, and unhappily it is one which has more risks of evil than likelihoods of good for an ordinary boy, but in his case we may thank God feel quite comfortable. The points

¹ Baron Carlo Marochetti (1805-67), Italian sculptor.

of his character which will be tried by intercourse with the Prince, are I think just those in which he is strongest. . . .

The news from India is not actually come but the Funds have fallen heavily and Lord Palmerston has announced that he has seen a telegraph received privately, but did not mention the purport which leads people to speculate unfavourably.

Disraeli made a speech in many points very clever, but he is not thought to have made a political hit by it. There was an absence of legitimate aim, and a risk of public inconvenience attending such discussions at this moment which startled people.

The Divorce Bill of 1857 aroused Gladstone's violent hostility, and was attacked by him in and out of Parliament. The depth of feeling which its proposals aroused in him is shown in the next letters.

11 CARLTON H. TERRACE *July 31 1857*

Parliamentary affairs are very black: the poor Church gets deeper and deeper into the mire. I am to speak to-night: it will do no good: and the fear grows upon me from year to year that when I finally leave Parliament I shall not leave the great question of Church and State better but perhaps even worse that I found it. Eight thousand Churches have signed the Declaration.

11 C. H. TERRACE, *Aug. 1. 1857*

I cannot come down—on Monday at 4 I must meet my co-Judges (I a Judge!) of the Duke of Wellington monument. Partly the Divorce Bill, and partly the grief with which I view the state of the House of

Commons, its relations to the Govt, and (what I think) the constant loss of character and sacrifice of public interests give me a touch of mingled excitement and depression which will make me feel it an immense relief when this turmoil is over and I get back to you and to Hawarden and the children.

11 C. H. T., *Aug 8 1857*

We are fighting hard as you will see on the Divorce Bill. All this is preparatory to the great effort for exempting the Church from its scandal and the Clergy from its cruelty. I never was engaged in any Parliamentary battle in which I felt a deeper anxiety and I am happy to say we have *hopes* that the House of Commons will give in the teeth of Ld Palmerston what the House of Lords refuses.

11 CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE, *Aug 12 1857*

This is a blacker day with us as well as you—the Cabinet is now sitting and will decide whether to make a rational concession to us or not, but all the signs at present are bad, and the probability is that they will offer either nothing or else something that we cannot accept. In this case all we can do is to put shoulder to shoulder and fight the Bill to the last and this please God we will do. We who have taken an active part are I think united, and Walpole now joins us which will be of use . . . Sir J. Graham is with us in the Marriage Bill: much to my delight and much too, let me add, to my surprise. I am as thankful to be in Parlt for this (almost) as I was for the China Vote.

11 CARLTON H. TERRACE *Aug 13. 57*

We are fighting more fiercely than ever. The Government have determined to make no concession and we have no alternative but to tear the Bill in pieces as well as we can which is what it really deserves. We have been at it all the morning. I write in the interval before the evening sitting having refreshed myself with a bath and being about to dine at the Club on my beloved mutton chops.

11 CARLTON H. TERRACE *Aug 15. 57*

I read too plainly in your letter of yesterday that your heart is heavy and mine too is heavy along with yours.¹ I have been in many minds about my duty today: and I am all but ready to break the bands even of the high obligations that have kept me here with reference to the Marriage Bill. You have only to speak the word by telegraph or otherwise, shewing that you think I can help to give any of the support you need, and I come to you. As matters stand I was wanted in the House to-day, and am wanted again for the Divorce Bill on Monday at twelve. . . .

As to the Divorce Bill I know not what to say. If the Prorogation is to take place next Saturday it is even now most uncertain whether the Bill can pass. It is also quite uncertain what will be the vote about the Clergy though I look to it hopefully. Were that vote over I should even now have come away to you.

I made a statement last night which you will read respecting the matter of the Lincoln Divorce. I have acted under the advice of Graham and Heathcote and have written to Newcastle about it to-day.

¹ Mrs. Gladstone's sister, Lady Lyttelton, was seriously ill and died a few days later.



CATHERINE GLADSTONE, 1888

From the Painting by Sir Hubert von Herkomer

BROUGHAM HALL Oct 23 1857

I made a very good days work yesterday in Liverpool, held forth at the Collegiate Institution where there were 800, boys besides parents, got two Homeric conversations one of them with Mr. Keats about metals and came on to dinner at this very beautiful and very curious place. The menage consists of Lord and Lady Brougham and of Mr. Wm Brougham with his wife and family, also some children that I cannot yet define. Lord B. is wonderfully domestic with one extraordinary exception, so much so that his brother could not go off to-day on a matter of most important county business because Lord B. would be in such a state without him.

To his brother, John Neilson Gladstone

HAWARDEN. Oct. 30, 1857

Yesterday morning we were wakened at five with the bad news that the old church was on fire. The utmost exertions were used by everybody and a good fire brigade came from Chester: beyond my hopes the painted windows, the oak work of the chancel and the bells and clock have been saved. It had been done with diabolical care and skill, purposely, whether by robbers or not we are not quite certain but a burglar's tool has been found. The restorations of it had just been completed at no small effort by the family in their present state. We have detectives at work but we know nothing as yet of the offender.

10 GT. GEORGE ST. Jan 24, 1858

The party at Bernstorff's¹ was late—I came off one of the first at a little before one. I liked the

¹ Prussian Ambassador.

Princess of Prussia¹ who appeared to have got up her little conversations remarkably well though she does not speak good English. . . . Lord Aberdeen is stronger: he came from his chair to meet me. There is a strong rumour that Govt have changed their mind since Wednesday and that there will be no India Bill! The scene at the Abbey to-night was grand: multitudes could not get in. The Bishop's voice commands the building perfectly.

H. OF C. *Feb. 17. 1858*

I went to-day to Ld. Lyndhurst, and found Ld. Brougham with him—a most interesting conversation followed with these two wonderful old men at 80 and 86 (coming next birthday) respectively, both in the fullest possession of their faculties, Brougham vehement, impulsive, full of gesticulation, and not a little rambling, the other calm and clear as a deep pool upon rock.

UNIV. CLUB, *Sat. mg. F 21 1858*

We have just divided and *carried* Gibson's motion² by 234 to 219. It was a most bewildered and uncertain house but at last they were screwed up to it. Last year we struck one stroke for humanity—this year for honour: God be praised. But last year you were here. This year you are not, and this is what I do not like. In hours of great joy as well as great sorrow it is very sad to be away from you. I thought of bolting by the 6 a.m. train four hours hence—but the crisis is important and I dare not. I spoke but had little to do with the issue. The only really good sign before the division came was that Palmerston was actually rabid. The vote

¹ Mother of the Emperor Frederick III.

² Milner Gibson's vote of censure led to the downfall of the Government.

is a vote of censure on them, as well as a vote for English honour. Whether they will resign I cannot say: but it is far from improbable.

H. OF C. *Feb. 22, 1858*

Yesterday I had a note from Derby; and was for 3 or 4 hours with Ld. Aberdeen. Derby made no mention of Graham and a very indirect one of Herbert. I declined to join him alone. He is forming a Govt. and there seems to be no doubt that he will do it. . . . The Anti-Palmerston feeling is strong—he was hooted yesterday by the crowd in the Park! Had the debates gone on there would probably have been a great deal of national feeling evoked.

You will delight to hear that yesterday I thought Ld. Aberdeen *in face* looked quite himself again. He stills feels some difficulty as to motion but the improvement in his looks is great and even wonderful.

11 C. H. T. *March 21, 1858*

I write late after prayers. Harry¹ went with me this afternoon to St. Andrews. One cannot have a better companion. Herbert² like me makes fine distinctions. This morning Harry said 'Oh baby your neck's dreadfully hot'—'No' said Herbert, 'it's *hot*, it's not dreadfully hot'!

H. OF C. *Mch 26 1858*

Last night I went to Lady Salisbury's after the House. She as well as many more asked very particularly after you. She has a very nice manner and seemed

¹ Henry Neville Gladstone (1852-1935), afterwards Lord Gladstone of Hawarden.

² Herbert John Gladstone (1854-1930), afterwards Viscount Gladstone of Lanark.

so conscientiously wishful to do her part. She also looked it well. I came across Persigny¹ and he took me away and gave me the whole story of his position, his resignation, and his views of the alliance and state of France. He is incautiously frank I think, but very honest.

II C. H. T. *Mch 27 1858*

My impressions about the India plan² are confirmed. It will be a source of danger to the Govt. Its first aspect is rather popular but it will not bear examination. It is imaginative and not workmanlike. Bright who was impartial at once declared against it. It will not become law at least as it stands, notwithstanding the bait of popular elections. Graham was sorrowful, Heathcote very uneasy.

II C. H. T. *Aug. 14. 1858*

Please give particular directions to keep for me the Times of Aug. 12, Aug. 13 and Aug. 14. The two former have their reviews of my book.³ It is very clever though rather self-contradictory. The criticisms on style, prolixity, and want of acquaintance with much that I ought to have known, are just. The more serious arguments I think may be answered. But it is much the cleverest *long* review which I have seen after the National. I only read it last night and it was Big Ben who told me of it!

¹ French Ambassador.

² To transfer the government of India from the East India Company to the Crown.

³ *Studies on Homer and the Homeric Age.*

To his brother, John Neilson Gladstone

CORFU. Nov. 29 1858

We arrived here on Wednesday in the *Terrible* from Trieste.¹ This was my first experience in a man of war: and it was *most* agreeable. We received from Captain Glasse and all his officers the utmost kindness and were much interested in seeing something of the interior working of the service. Although our passage was not *very* good yet the *Terrible* is such an admirable sea boat that none of us suffered much. We landed at Pola on the way, one of the finest harbours, I believe, in Europe. Next week and the following one will be spent in a tour to the Islands on board the *Terrible* and after a couple of days at Athens I hope to be here at Christmas. We expect then to be stationary at Corfu until I turn my face homewards which I trust will be in the course of January.

Strange to say I am very busy, as yet chiefly with ceremonial: for instance to-day I held a levee, where over 350 people, including perhaps 40 priests and 50 officers of the garrison. The people here are extremely civil and respectful: and I doubt whether we always do them full justice in England.

I find the town very interesting but I am becoming too well known personally to go much about it.

11 C. H. T. April 9, 1859

Public news claims the first place. The horizon is much darkened abroad:² and the proposal of Disraeli to adjourn the foreign discussion till next week, when he promised that it should certainly come on would

¹ On his appointment as Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands.

² The war in Italy between France and Austria.

seem to show that things are near a crisis and if so then an unfavourable one. Ld. Abn. you know has always said there must be war and to-day I have heard privately of a communication from a Secy of Louis Napoleon's to a friend of his which is entirely in the same sense. Meantime this most blameworthy Dissolution cripples the Agency of England. I never saw Dizzy shuffle more in Parliament than last night. The scene was sickening, and all the Irish were there most of them vying with one another in eagerness to plunder the public purse.

11 C. H. T. *Good Friday, April 22, 1859*

You see that there appears to remain now but a very faint hope indeed of peace, if any. If war really come, it is horrible: and yet I am by no means without hope as to the issue. It may be better or less bad that war should come *now*, than that the ails of Italy should go on festering and should accumulate more and more.

Think of the poor lads we saw handling the bayonet at Padua—and struggling past the carriage window as we descended the Alps—may God help them. The worst is that as matters now stand, war may so easily pass into European confusion.

D. ST. *July 16, 1859*

My Budget is just through the Cabinet—very kindly and well received; no one making objection but L[ewis]¹ who preached low doctrine. It confirms me in the belief I have long had that he was fitter for most other offices than that I now hold.

¹ Sir George Cornwall Lewis, who had been Chancellor of the Exchequer from 1855 to 1858.

UNIV CLUB *July 21* or rather 22. 1 a.m. [1859]

Just come back from a long night and rather stiff contention at the House of Commons . . . it has been rather nice and close fighting—Disraeli made a popular motion to trip me up—but had to withdraw it at any rate for the time. This I can say, it was not so that I used him. I am afraid that the truce between us is over and that we shall have to pitch in as before.

D. St. *Aug 11, 1859*

The Fish Dinner went off very well: and I think my proposing Ld. Palmerston's health (without speech) was decidedly approved.

I have had a warm message from Ld. Lansdowne about my speech:¹ and Ld. P. told me that Tuesday night as he went upstairs on getting home he heard Lady P. spouting as she read by candlelight: it turned out to be the same effusion.

HAWARDEN *Sept 12 1859*

Cobden came early—nothing could go better than the luncheon I have had a walk and long talk with Cobden² who I think pleases and is pleased. . . . This news from China is most deplorable. I do not know when our naval arms have suffered such loss and even shame though there has been without doubt most gallant fighting. It is the sequel of the wretched proceedings of 1857 and the war will begin again.³

¹ The Budget.

² 'When he proposed to me the French treaty,' Gladstone to Lord Acton.

³ In an attempt to force an entrance to the Peiho river Admiral Hope was repulsed with a loss of 471 killed and wounded. The Chinese War (1859-60) resulted.

LONDON *Sept 17 1859*

The Treasury business is much heavier than when I was last in office. If I were willing to let money flow very freely it might be made easy enough: but at every point I have the wearisome business of offering resistance.

Lord John has not appeared at the Cabinet. I understand he came as far as the Spital and turned back upon a dispatch from Lord Palmerston stating that the Cabinet would only be for China and (I imagine) that matters were not ripe for the most important or doubtful decisions.

I have been well pleased on the whole with the tone of the Cabinet: there is a good disposition to consider the case with its difficulties which are many, and they (P. included in some degree) do not take the hand over head view which was presented by the newspapers—and happily there is no perceptible tendency of opinions to decide according to our former controversy. The ground was quite new.

Our invaluable Mr. Anderson¹ of the Treasury one of my pillars (and pillows) is sadly ill abroad. God grant he may be spared. I really regard him with nothing less than affection.

D. ST. *Oct. 28. 59*

We have had a Cabinet on foreign matters. This day week at Windsor Ld J. R. shewed me a letter of his *against* our joining in a Congress: and P. agreed with him. To-day J. R. produced a draft on the basis of agreeing to it: and P. again was with him. I was very well pleased: for I had argued the other way last week. Altogether the pacific element predominates in

¹ (Sir) William George Anderson.

the Cabinet as far as policy is concerned. An excellent letter of the Queen's was read.

You will be grieved to hear that Lady Peel¹ was found this morning dead in her room. I have heard no particulars.

D. St. *Oct 29, 1859*

I am told Tennyson was somewhat wrath about what is said of Maud—but pleased on the whole.

D. St. *Dec. 5, 1859*

We have had a tremendous Cabinet I mean from the magnitude of the facts and figures and I can hardly find time to write you before post. We have made progress—good feeling on all sides, and although I have done but little in getting the expenditure down yet I have I think got a good way towards killing the loan and likewise towards keeping the door open for an arrangement with France.

D. St. *Jan 9, 1860*

I have been at Macaulay's funeral—a great attendance of distinguished persons, not very many that I saw of high rank. The service was meant to be grand but we English are so stupid in such things that from great means we get unsatisfactory and small results.

And now for the main thing—we are all on the tiptoe of expectation about to-morrow's Cabinet—Persigny, who was with me this morning, most keen. It will require very good steering to get all right. . . .

¹ Widow of the statesman.

My matters at Paris are going on quite favourably. And the Emperor on the whole has been behaving better than I ever have expected. He seems as if he really meant to stick to his pamphlet and some further support we must give him.

11 D. ST. *Jan 11, 1860*

I find myself at this very moment so in the thick of negotiations of the French Treaty that I cannot go [to Hagley] without a clear sacrifice of public duty. For the measure is of immense importance and of no less nicety, and here it all depends on me. Lord J backs me most cordially and well but it is no small thing to get a Cabinet to give up $1\frac{1}{2}$ or 2 millions of revenue at a time when all the public passion is for enormous expenditure and in a case beset with great difficulties. In fact the majority of the Cabinet is indifferent or averse but they have behaved very well. I almost always agree with Lewis on other matters but in trade and finance I do not find his opinion satisfactory.

D. ST. *Jan 13 1860*

The Cabinet has been again on the French Treaty. There are 4 or 5 zealous, perhaps as many who would rather be without it. It has required pressure but we have got sufficient power now if the French will do what is reasonable. Lord J. has been excellent. P. rather neutral. It is really a great European operation.

D. ST. *Jan. 14, 1860*

I am *certain* from experience of the immense advantage of strict account keeping in early life: it is

just like learning the grammar then, which when once learned need not be referred to afterwards. I say let them keep accounts till 30.

Gladstone considered his Budget of 1853 to be by far his 'greatest effort' in finance, and a leading economist has singled it out as 'perhaps the most brilliant of his achievements in the House of Commons,'¹ but others have been equally insistent upon giving the palm to the Budget of 1860 and there can be no doubt that it was one of the most notable financial statements of his career. He then, to quote Greville, 'achieved one of the greatest triumphs that the House of Commons ever witnessed', or, to give the words of one who was none too friendly a critic of the statesman, 'few greater feats have ever been performed than the mustering, chiefly 'by mere force of individual advocacy, of a majority of 116 'in favour of a Budget which revolutionized English commercial policy, which affected all manner of interests, and 'which was not very warmly beloved, even by all the Chancellor's own colleagues, in a House where the normal Government majority was not much more than the odd sixteen.'² A glimpse of the anxiety which he felt when he first propounded its terms to the Cabinet and his relief at its reception is given in his note to Mrs. Gladstone.

Most Private

D. St. Jan 28, 1860. 4½

A word to say I have opened the fundamental parts of my Budget in the Cabinet and that I could not have hoped for better reception. Nothing decided, for I did not ask it and indeed the case was not complete—but there was no general murmur, no decided objection, the tone of questioning was favourable, Granville and Argyll delighted, Newcastle I think ditto. Thank God.

¹ Gladstone as *Financier and Economist*, by F. W. Hirst.

² *Life of Lord Derby*, by George Saintsbury.

11 C. H. T. *Aug. 15. 1860*

The Lords have again offended in rejecting my Savings Bank's Bill but this time I think something will be done. We have just had a Cabinet upon it. P. is to speak to Derby and try to bring him to reason, as the easiest way of getting out. Graham is for doing something of this kind.

11 C. H. T. *Aug. 16. 1860*

The Lords are to give way on their little *coup*—the vote of last Monday is to be practically rescinded and the Bill is to go on—we of course watching it. This was settled *direct* between P. & D.

D. St. *Oct 13 1860*

I have seen Lord Aberdeen to-day. He had been reported to me as having arrived here very well but as having caught cold or being from some cause now less well. On entering the room I thought him looking better than when he left London and such was the appearance of the face, but when I came to talk to him it was too clear that there was increased difficulty of utterance and much further loss of nervous power. It is frequently very difficult to make out what he says. Arthur¹ is well and his moustache flourishes mightily.

D. St. *Oct. 17, 1860*

I saw Ld Aberdeen again to-day: he was something better. But when I asked him how old he thought

¹ Lord Aberdeen's son, afterwards Lord Stanmore (1829-1912).

Guizot was, he answered after some thought he must be about 50! (He can scarcely be under 70 and Lord A. has been intimate with him 20 or 30 years). In the same way he told me before he was thinking about going back to Buchan Ness—which must have been a dream.

D. St. Oct. 18, 1860

I did not get to the play last night, from finding 'The Woman in White' so very interesting. It has no dull parts and is far better sustained than Adam Bede though I do not know if it rises quite as high. The character drawing is excellent.

D. St. Nov. 9 1860

I have been to Argyll House but *did not see Ld Aberdeen*. Arthur reports him not worse *generally* but labouring under such difficulty of speech that since his attack, now gone off, he has seen *only his family*. He says Holland declares there is no immediate danger: yet except as to the time things are evidently far from him. He will be esteemed and lamented hereafter out of all proportions to his living popularity.

D. St. Dec. 15. 60

The Chancellor says (keep this from view) that Albert said to him at Windsor 'we Germans have no boundaries—our only boundary is the Quadrilateral' i.e. fortresses in the heart of Italy. This I fear must be true, and if so is sad enough: because he evidently spoke his mind out unsuspiciously.

Great news while I write. A telegram of to-day

from St. Petersburg brings news from Pekin up to Nov. 9 (our mail was only to Oct 14). Peace was concluded and ratifications exchanged on the 26th Oct. —the allies left Pekin Nov. 5. This seems really true and it is delightful. Thank God.

D. ST. *Dec. 18. 1860*

I actually went last night 4 mortal miles to Hoxton! to see 'Eily O'Connor', the Colleen Bawn in another shape. It was not without interest, though very inferior, and imitated, in some cases with a ludicrous closeness. The theatre is a pure working man's theatre. I paid 1/- for a very aristocratic place. To-night I am going with Phillimore¹ to the Westminster Play, a Latin one which I am afraid is rather long.

RAIL *Ja 18 1861*

I write a few lines to you in the train near Harrow. . . . Among the letters given me this morning at H[awarde]n was one from Lord John in which he quietly informs me that since the Cabinet separated *he* has agreed to guarantee a loan, and for Morocco! This I mean to resist and I have managed to write a letter in the carriage to tell him so. What will come of it I do not know. It is a very serious affair. I am afraid he has committed himself egregiously. I am very bad now: but what *shall* I be at sixty-eight?

11 C. H. T. *Jan 19. 1861*

Indeed this is a strange world. Yesterday it seemed Ld. J. R. might go out—or more likely I might

¹ Sir Robert Joseph Phillimore (1810–1885), a close friend.

—or even the Cabinet might go to pieces. To-day he writes to me that he supposes he must find a way out of his proposals! So that is over.

11 C. H. T. *Jan 25. 1861*

I write from the Cabinet. I am in the midst of a deadly struggle about the Estimates: the only comfort this year is that I think the conflict will be more with the Navy than the Army. [Sidney] Herbert has told me to-day—with the simplicity, and absence of egotism, which one could not but remark in his graceful character—the nature of his complaint. You will probably guess. As to Cabinets Ld John says we had better meet frequently.

D. St. *Jan 26. 1861*

Another Cabinet on Monday. It is just possible they may relax after that day. I have had two hard days of hard fighting. By dint of what after all might be called the threat of resignation, I have got the Navy Estimates a little down, and I am now in the battle about the Army. About the reduction on the Navy Palmerston criticised, Ld. John protested, and Cardwell!! I think went further than either. Never on any single occasion since this Govt was formed has his voice been raised in the Cabinet for economy.

D. St. *Jan. 28. 1861*

Mr. Arbuthnot¹ told me to-day an observation of Sir George Lewis's when here—speaking of my controversy with the Banks in 1854, he said 'it is a pity he puts so much heat, so much irritability into business—now I am as cool as a fish'.

¹ George Arbuthnot of the Treasury (1802–65).

D. ST. *Feb. 5, 1861*

Yesterday in the carriage from Kidderminster I heard in part a dialogue of which I gathered so much. 1st worthy. 'I suppose we shall have to pay 2 pence or 3 pence more income tax'. 2nd worthy. 'Gladstone seems to be a totally incompetent man'. 3rd worthy. 'And then he always wraps himself in such mystery. But now I do not see what else he can do. He has cut away the ground from under his feet'.—with a growl about the Conservative Party. Such is the public opinion of Worcestershire beyond all doubt.

H OF C. *Feb. 15 1861*

I saw the Prince [Consort] only last evening and had a long conversation. There will be no great difficulty about the matter but they have made a proposal which I think was not wise and they probably will be content that we should not act on it. He is evidently very sore about what took place in 1840 when the Melbourne Govt proposed for him an annuity of £50,000 and a majority of the H. of C. reduced it to thirty. About this he made no secret. After that subject was disposed of he talked of some others not in high politics. About the Govt. he is perfectly civil and proper but gives one the impression that he would be glad of a change and would regard it as more favourable to Germany.

The next letter, perhaps the shortest he ever wrote, testifies to Gladstone's relief at getting his Budget proposals through the Cabinet despite the differences between himself and Palmerston.

My own C.

I am *thruff*
It is all right
Almost unanimous.

W. E. G.

4.30 p.m. 94 Piccadilly Ap 13. 1861.

The death of Sidney Herbert moved Gladstone profoundly. There had been a warm attachment between the two men dating from their first meeting at Oxford in 1829. In one of his last scraps of autobiography, written in his eighty-eighth year, Gladstone recounted his first sight of 'this distinguished 'and delightful man' when 'the beauty and grace of his appearance made an indelible impression upon me'.

11 C. H. T. *Aug 3 1861*

It is plain that through the mercy of God his¹ death was permitted to be in harmony with his life. The withdrawal of him from the world seems to darken its face but he is gone to purer and brighter light. The way in which he remembered all and each will remind you of Mary.² I would indeed that we were together: but it will not be long. . . . I suppose the funeral may be by Thursday: and if so I hope to be with you on Friday. As yet I am very busy but grief for what has happened has the principal place. A strong feeling of self reproach comes over me that I have not valued him enough.

11 C. H. T. *Aug. 7. 1861*

I travelled in a coupee with Card Wiseman and his Chaplain! Card W. is a man of great ability,

¹ Sidney Herbert.

² Lady Lyttelton.

but his appearance is repulsive. Yet he has mind, eloquence, and imagination. . . .

At Osborne we all, by desire, saw the Princess of Prussia's¹ children. The boy² *very* like the mother's family: the baby³ singularly fine and well set up, with beautiful eyes. . . .

I rode last week nearly every day. Last night I went to see Leotard. It is a piece of beautiful gymnastics but not to be named in the same breath with Blondin who is fully ten times more wonderful. Leotard is worth the shilling: not a great deal more.

D. St. Oct. 19. 1861

I have sat twice to Watts and go again on Monday. He is very agreeable if one has got the time but it takes 3 to 3½ hours.

11 C. H. T. Oct. 21. 1861

The Dowr Duchess [of Sutherland] took me to Watts's to-day for the last formal sitting. She thinks the head a very satisfactory work on the whole. It is certainly powerful and I think not harsh or at any rate not too harsh. The background has to be brought in and he says he will still ask for another 'half hour' a certain time hence.

D. St. Oct 22 1861

Tell Harry⁴ he is right, Latin is difficult, and it is in great part because it is difficult that it is useful.

¹ Princess Royal, afterwards Empress of Germany.

² The ex-Kaiser.

³ Duchess of Saxe Meiningen.

⁴ Then going to a school in Portman Street.

Suppose he wanted to make himself a good jumper; how would he do it? By trying *first* indeed what was easy but after that what was difficult enough to make him exert himself to the uttermost. If he kept to the easy jumps he would never improve. But the jumps that are at first difficult by and bye become easy. So the Latin lessons which he now finds difficult, he will find easy, when once his mind has been improved and strengthened by those very lessons. See if he understands this, and Herbert too.

11 D. St. Oct. 23. 1861

Cardwell I find is in London with a very bad illness which has been dangerous but he is coming round. The Speaker is here and I am to meet him this evening at Stafford House. The Queen more enthusiastic about Scotland than ever: admires Killarney but not like Scotland. Very sad at the prospect of Windsor without the Duchess of Kent. Count S [trzelecki]¹ has been at Deal and says that Lady H[erbert] is now *realizing* there the whole extent of her calamity.

CLIVEDEN Jan 14. 1862

Here are the Argylls, Lady Blantyre and a heap of young. The Blantyre *more* beautiful. The Duchess looks pretty well, not quite her best I think. We have been busy reading translations of Homer this morning, including some of mine, which is approved. Tennyson has written most noble lines on the Prince. Ld P. is reported well.

¹ Count Strzelecki (1796-1873), a well-known figure in Victorian society, had in earlier life obtained fame as an Australian explorer.

11 C. H. T. *Jan. 15. 1862*

You remember the Provost of Eton dined with us at Windsor in a Company from which the Prince has been first called away. Hawtrey our old and kind friend seems likely to follow. His mind is gone, just like his sister's, and I understand to-day that the end is coming fast. I must always feel tenderly towards him: he was the first teacher from whom as a boy I derived any incentive to exertion.

The Queen wrote to the Duchess [of Sutherland] a letter which she read me yesterday—the most artless and the most profound expression of even woman's grief which I ever heard.

Private

11 D. ST. *Jan. 18 62*

I have marked this Private that you may recollect to lock it up as I am going to tell you that Lord P[almerston] writes to Lady H[erbert] to keep her acquainted with public affairs telling her he still considers her a Cabinet Minister—and that the Foreign Office may know nothing if the letters are opened he signs in a woman's name!

D. ST. *Jan 21 1862*

We read this morning some beautiful verses by Mrs. Norton coming out in the next Macmillan, and an excellent printed but private paper by Mr. Helps,¹ both about the Prince Consort. . . .

The Argylls were seven persons for four days at Cliveden: their whole luggage including a dispatch

¹ Sir Arthur Helps (1813–75), Clerk of the Privy Council.

box of his amounted to eight packages *not one of them* large! I complimented them sky high.

CABINET ROOM *Feb 1 62*

The Cabinet has gone well. It is rather amusing! I am driving the screw: Lewis yields point by point. I think in substance the question is ruled in my favour. Thank God for the prospects of peace: but it will not be positively settled till Monday.

Lewis's last dying speech. 'Well we will see what can be done'.

In March 1862 Gladstone had his first audience with the Queen after the death of the Prince Consort.

11, DOWNING ST. *Mar. 23 1862*

I was really bewildered, but all that vanished when the Queen came in and held my hand a moment. All was beautiful, simple, noble, and touching to the very last degree. I need only repeat the first and last words. The first (putting down her head and struggling), 'The nation has been very good to me in my sorrow'; the last, 'I earnestly pray it may be long before you are parted from one another'.

To his brother, John Neilson Gladstone

11, DOWNING STREET. *March 25 1862*

I saw the Queen last week at Windsor and was deeply impressed with the interview. It is impossible to conceive anything more noble, simple and touching

than her grief: and nothing in all she said struck me more than her personal humility.

11 C. H. T. *July 30. 1862*

I went to the Argylls and saw Tennyson who was very pleasant and had brought his two boys to see me but I did not come in time for them. . . . I passed a very agreeable evening at Panizzi's, with him Lacaita¹ and a Signor Galiotti . . . there is a plan brewing of giving me a public dinner in the North of England—at Newcastle.

The series of events which began with the sailing of the sloop *Alabama* from Liverpool in the summer of 1862 and ended in the famous arbitration at Geneva ten years later with an award against Great Britain of three and a quarter million pounds, forms one of the most glorious pages in the history of the nineteenth century. Speaking in 1880 Gladstone said that he regarded the award as 'dust in the balance compared 'with the moral value of the example set when these two great 'nations of England and America went in peace and concord 'before a judicial tribunal rather than resort to the arbitrament 'of the sword.' The following letter is an early reference.

D. St. *Nov. 12. 1862*

The U.S. affair has ended and not well. Lord R. rather turned tail, i.e. he gave way without resolutely fighting out his battle. However although we decline for the moment, the answer is put upon grounds and in terms which leave the matter very open for the future. . . . The two Cabinets have taken up my time very much—and last night I had 5 hours of the St.

、¹ Sir James Lacaita (1813–1895).

Martin's Volunteer Supper—a most hearty meeting, really a dinner, 300 people, all of the parish, and some of the best ringing cheers I have heard in my life.

D. ST. Nov. 17, 1862

I read a bit of your most interesting letter at the St. Martin's meeting this morning—not *as* yours. It is a blessed work that you are about:¹ much better than mine: I am going to-night to hear or see Ld. Dundreary!!!

11 C. H. T. Nov. 18, 1862

I have sat an hour with Ld. Lyndhurst. He is much *older* than when I saw him last but still has pith and life in him as well as that astonishing freshness of mind which gives him a charm in its way quite unrivalled. He was very kind—and what is more he showed I think a seriousness of tone which has been missed before. . . . Last night I saw Ld Dundreary. I think it—the part and the player not the play—quite admirable. It is a thoroughly refined piece of acting such as we hardly ever see in England: And it combines with refinement intense fun—I laughed to split myself.

D. ST. Nov. 20. 1862

I send you a *Daily News* which keep—in it you will find various paragraphs, one or more about you, and a letter recommending me for—King of Greece! The Duchess of S [utherland] takes it quite

¹ Refers to Mrs. Gladstone's efforts on behalf of the sufferers in the Lancashire Cotton Famine.

seriously. . . . I say it is a bit more of Dundreary and beg a week to laugh over it before answering anything seriously. . . . The Duchess thinks Watts a decided success tho' somewhat ashy.

To this Mrs. Gladstone answered, 'The *Daily News* found 'its way and I have been reading about Greece! Herbert¹ says 'after some reflection—"Yes, I should rather like Papa to be "King of Greece. You would be Queen—and we should be "Princes".'

D. ST. Nov. 22. 1862

Up to the present time I am very fully occupied till dinner time, but not over worked or anything like it. My heart also is lighter about my prospects for the Session, for I believe the members of the Govt. are at last possessed with the belief that some retrenchment is wanted and that I shall get in the Great Estimates with far less trouble or even by spontaneous acknowledgment far more than in the former years it has cost a life and death struggle to obtain. This is a great cause for thankfulness.

D. ST. Dec. 8, 1862

Strange to say, the Cabinet has been summoned to consider giving up the Ionian Islands—the discussion is going on and everybody but old Bethell² in favour!!! I think the ex-King of Portugal will probably be King of Greece.³

¹ Then eight years old.

² Richard Bethell, Lord Westbury (1800–1873), Lord Chancellor.

³ Prince Alfred (Duke of Edinburgh) was elected by almost unanimous suffrage King of Greece, but for political reasons declined the throne which was later accepted by Prince William of Schleswig-Holstein.

WINDSOR CASTLE *Dec. 10. 1862*

Here I am with six candles blazing! of which I shall put out a large proportion when no longer afraid of a visit from the great people about the passages. . . . I got your letter this morning but am amazed at your thinking I have pluck to ask the Prince of Wales! or the Queen!!! about photographs promised or not promised.

In came the Dean¹—after that a summons to the Queen with whom I have been an hour. She is well in health and in spirits and when she speaks of the Prince does it with a free natural and healthy tone that is most pleasing. I am to see the Prince of Wales after dinner. . . . The Queen asked kindly about you, and I saw little Pss Beatrice.

HAWARDEN *Jan. 2 1863*

Last night I made my *first* rough sketch of a Budget for 63-64 and was greatly pleased with the look of the figures—so much so that it rather interfered with my sleep! They must, in the absence of some new and great calamity, be good: they may be *very* good.

11 C. H. T. *Jan. 21 1863*

My own opinion about Greece is that unless (which seems very unlikely) the Greeks can find a king both good and to their mind, their best plan might be to appoint an Administrator of their little kingdom for say a term of five years—by that time the difficulties of getting a good king might have been mitigated by time. But I cannot say as much to Mr. Finlay²

¹ Gerald Valerian Wellesley (1809-1882), Dean of Windsor.

² George Finlay (1799-1875), Greek historian.

because the Cabinet has announced a *plan* of which this would be a modification not duly authorised.

11 DOWNING STREET *Jan 23 63*

I went to Drury Lane and laughed immoderately. Van de Weyer¹ says Dundreary is the only fine piece of acting *we* have had in this period: not far wrong I think.

11 D. ST. *Jan 29 1863*

It is rather curious that, as Phipps² writes to me, the Q. does not wish any vote with a view to public rejoicings on the marriage³ as she thinks it might offend on account of its being in Lent. She has another reason but mentions this particularly.⁴

11 C. H. T. *Jan 30 1863*

In the evenings I have leisure—and much of it I have been spending in reading Kinglake's book⁵ which touches very nearly, and not agreeably nor justly, the character of Ld Aberdeen and his Govt.

I am afraid that Newcastle blabbed on what took place and that his blabbing was much tinged with egoism. Clarendon, I hear, is very angry with the book, and Lewis too, but Lewis is not a party concerned.

¹ Belgian minister.

² Sir Charles Beaumont Phipps (1801–1866), Keeper of the Queen's Purse.

³ Of the Prince of Wales (King Edward VII).

⁴ The Queen's second reason was that there had been no public rejoicings at her own wedding.

⁵ *Invasion of the Crimea*, of which the first two volumes had just appeared.

Lord Morley has told how Gladstone in his earlier years made a resolve to devote himself to the reclamation of the 'unfortunate ministers to the great sin of great cities'. Few know how unflinchingly he pursued this self-appointed mission in which he was always supported by the ready help and unfailing sympathy of his wife. His diaries and private account books bear witness to the expenditure of time and money which he gave to this work during a period of over sixty years, for it was not until he was past eighty that he relinquished his task. Needless to say his activities in this direction were a constant anxiety to his friends and a never failing gratification to his enemies, who found in them an opportunity for slanders of the vilest kind. It may be permissible to doubt the worldly wisdom of such a crusade being undertaken by one holding some of the highest offices in the State, but none dare now question the fearless rectitude and purity of Gladstone's motives. The letter which follows refers to one out of hundreds of such cases and had a rather unexpected sequel. The lady in question, who lived in Brompton Square, had run up a considerable bill for 'her open carriage 'and pair' at a neighbouring livery stables in Cheval Place, the proprietor of which promptly addressed a letter to Gladstone in which he said that as he understood Mr. Gladstone was responsible for his customer having given up her mode of life he felt justified in asking him to pay the heavy account, some £40 odd, which stood in her name. What the sequel was—or whether there was a sequel—history does not relate.

II C. H. T. *July 30. 63*

I am also occupied to-day with a *case* of which I became aware some time ago, during the last recess (but it slumbered till 3 days ago) of a woman who has gone astray and is disposed to go to Clewer. I am just going to see Mrs. Monsell¹ to ascertain further about her. She is aged 20 and was married I believe

¹ The Gladstones met Mrs. Monsell at Naples in 1852 and there had planned with her the establishment of a House of Refuge at Clewer.

at 15: is at the very top of the tree, tells me she has driven her open carriage and pair daily all this year in the Park and the streets. She seems very firm in her intention but with a certain leaning for the idea of a nunnery. I scarcely know how it will turn out but her character is singular and I believe quite true.

BALMORAL Sept 25 1863

Here I find myself seated at a few minutes past eight in a very comfortable room, just evacuated, I think, by Lord Russell. My journey was quick and prosperous. I saw the kind handkerchiefs wave at a good mile from Penmaenmawr. The day kept beautiful to Chester. At Abergele maukins¹ were bathing. . . . At Liverpool it had turned to rain, but there was loyal Robertson [Gladstone]² waiting on the landing-stage without either great-coat or umbrella. I provided myself with a stock of gloves and a superlative wide-awake; he provided me with a luncheon amply sufficient to carry me (in substance) through. Falling in with divers acquaintances, we reached Perth at 11½, and started onwards in a light carriage, small and somewhat cramped, but not so as to prevent my sleeping a good many hours. When we came to the pass above the Spittal—you may remember it, some 16 or 18 years ago—I walked the hill. Found the Inn at Braemar converted into a considerable hotel: and the old guide, who in 1835 took John³ and me about the mountain, dead within three years only. The roads in this country have been improved, the woods looked after, everything that man can reach has a smarter face,

¹ 'An abbreviation of the word *mannikin* . . . an unknown individual,' *Glynnese Glossary*.

² His brother.

³ John Neilson Gladstone, *ante*.

but the grand natural beauty remains and satisfies. Balmoral is of course metamorphosed and with good general effect but I have had no time yet to learn latitude or longitude. . . . I am not to see the Queen till to-morrow: she sent me a kind message. She has been a long expedition to-day.

BALMORAL *Sep 26 1863*

This place is on the whole very beautiful and satisfactory: and Deeside at large has lost, for me, none of its charms, with its masses of black green fir and grey rock, and its boundless ranges of heather still almost in full bloom. The Queen spends a good many hours out—and looks well, but older. I had a long conversation or audience to-day, but as regards the form and mode of life here, so far as I see, it does not differ, for visitors, from Windsor. All meals and rooms are separate, but sometimes, it appears, men are invited to dine with the Queen. The household circle is smaller than at Windsor, and so less formal and dull. She talked very pleasantly and well upon many matters public and other. As to politics she talked most of America and Germany: also some Lancashire distress. She feels an immense interest in Germany, her recollection of the Prince's sentiments being in that as in other matters a barometer to govern her sympathies and affections. She said (when I hoped she had received benefit from the air here) that she thought she had been better in Germany than anywhere though it was excessively hot. She asked where I had been and about our living at Hawarden and where it was—I told her I thought she had been there, at least driving through from Eaton (was it not so?) when she was Princess and at last she seemed to

remember it and said it was 31 years ago. Princess Alice has got a black boy here who was given her and he produces a great sensation on Deeside where the people never saw anything of the kind and cannot conceive it. A woman, and an intelligent one, cried out with amazement on seeing him and said she should certainly have fallen down but for the Queen's presence. She said nothing would induce her to wash his clothes *as the black would come off!* This story the Queen told me in good spirits. She said that some people after heavy bereavement disliked seeing those whom they had known well before and who reminded them of what had been—but with her it was exactly the opposite—it was the greatest effort and pain to see anyone who had [not] known *them* before and their mode of living. As an instance it had cost her much to see the Emperor [of the French], whom the Prince had never known. Evidently this clinging to things old will form itself into a habit but I am afraid it may hereafter, when more have died off, be a matter of difficulty to her. It is impossible to help seeing that she mistrusts Lord Russell's judgment in foreign affairs, indeed I have already had clear proof of this. She likes Lord P's better—thinks he looks very old and will not allow that it is all owing to an accident. But dinner is drawing near—so good-bye—We have had a good day and I have been up to see the pyramid put up on a hill top as a memorial to the Prince with the beautiful inscription.

BALMORAL Sept 27 1863

I do not think Sunday is the best of days here: I in vain enquired with care about Episcopal services. there did not seem to be one within 15 miles if indeed

so near. We had something between family prayers and a service in the dining-room at 10: it lasted about 40 minutes. Dr. Caird¹ gave a short discourse good in material though over fluid in style for my taste. The rest of the day I have had to myself. The P. and Pss. of Hesse I think went to the Parish Church. . . . The Queen says the Duke of Atholl suffers dreadfully and that in all likelihood he cannot last many weeks. She evidently feels much for him and one reason is that it was one of the last places she visited with the Prince. . . . I saw the two Princes last night: they were playing billiards. The P. of W. asked particularly, as always, about you and Willy.

BALMORAL. *Sep 28 1863*

To-day I have heard nothing of the Queen. Last evening I was summoned to dine, as was Lady Churchill. It was extremely interesting. We were but seven in all, and anything more beautifully domestic than the Queen and her family it was impossible to conceive. The five were H.M., Prince and Princess Louis, Prince Alfred, and Princess Helena. Princess Louis (whom the Queen in speaking of still calls Princess Alice) asked about you all. I had the pleasure of hearing the good report of Lucy² altogether confirmed from her lips and the Queen's. The Queen thinks her like her dear mother. She talked about many things and persons: among others the Lyttelton family, and asked about the boys seriatim, but pulled me up at once when in a fit of momentary oblivion I said the New Zealander was the third.³ . . .

¹ John Caird (1820-1898), then Professor of Theology at Glasgow.

² Lady Frederick Cavendish.

³ Spencer Lyttelton, who came into a property in New Zealand, was the fourth son.

Prince Alfred is going to Edinburgh to study: he is a smart fellow and has plenty of go in him.

BALMORAL *Sep 29 1863*

We have no news to-day: Lord Russell's speech is our subject of talk. I am sorry to say I think he has been very incautious in saying so much about the iron-clads—we shall see. I would write and tell him so but that as I made an incautious speech about America myself last year I do not feel entitled to take so much upon me. . . . I wish I could remember all the conversation at the little round table dinner; but the truth is that when upon one's good behaviour it takes away observation and memory by throwing the mind too much inwards. I will tell you one. The Queen expressed qualms about lawyers who plead causes which they know to be bad or do not know to be good—I told her how the practice is guarded, i.e. by a strict understanding that they are never to pledge their own personal conviction—and how necessary it was for the fullest elucidation of the truth that everything should be said on *both* sides—she took it in at once and seemed satisfied.

BALMORAL *Sep 30 63. 7 p.m.*

I am come in from a 19 mile walk to the Lake of Lochnagar as fresh as a lark!—very wet. The Queen sent me a message not to go up Lochnagar (top) if there was mist: and mist there was with rain to boot. I find the resemblance to Snowdon rather striking. It is 3800 feet. We went up about 3300. . . . Last night we went down to Abergeldie to the Gillies Ball. There was a dance called the perpetual jig, nearly

the best fun I ever witnessed. The Princes danced with great activity after deerstalking, and very well: P. Alfred I thought beautifully. . . . The Queen was (acc. to Mrs. Bruce who dined with her) very low last night, on account of the ball, which naturally recalled so much. It was not absolutely over till 3 in the morning. Prince Louis wore the kilt for the first time.

‘How interesting the 19 miles walk,’ wrote Mrs. Gladstone, ‘the Queen’s care for you, which makes me thrill all over, the ‘Ball. Your letters are indeed *breaks, treats, delights.*’

BALMORAL. Oct 4 1863

I dined with the Queen again last night. . . . She talked Shakespeare, Scott, the use of the German language in England (and here I could not speak out *all* my mind), Guizot’s translation of the Prince’s speeches and his preface (which the Queen has since sent me to look at), the children’s plays at Windsor (where Princess Alice acted a high priest! with great success—in *Athalie* I think), the Prussian children (the Q. says the Baby is not pretty—the little boy¹ on coming yesterday called them all *stumpfnase*, pug-nosed), handwritings, Lord P’s to wit, *Mr. Disraeli’s* style in his letters to the Queen, the proper mode of writing, on what paper, &c., and *great* laudation of Lady Lyttelton’s letters.

BALMORAL Oct 5 1863

I told you the Queen talked about German on Saturday at dinner, among other things Schiller’s and Coleridge’s *Wallenstein*. Next morning she sent me

¹ The ex-Kaiser.

through Lady A. Bruce¹ the book, with a passage of which I have hastily translated the most important part—It is easy to conceive how it answers to her feelings.

Act V. Scene 3. Speech of Wallenstein.

Too well I know the treasure I have lost.
From off my life the bloom is swept away;
It lies before me cold and colourless;
For he, that stood beside me, like my youth,
He charmed reality into a dream,
And over all the common face of things
He shed the golden glow of morning's blush;
And in the fire of his affection,
Dull forms, that throng the life of everyday,
Grew to mine own amazement, tow'ed aloft.
Win what I may henceforth, the Beautiful
Is gone, and gone without return.

You will say this was an opening. In reading another part of the book I found lines which I have turned as follows, no better than the others. (Prologue).

For nothing other than a noble aim
Up from its depths can stir humanity;
The narrow circle narrows too the mind,
And man grows greater as his ends are great.

Now I thought can I in reply call the Queen's attention to these significant words, a noble sermon—I asked Lady Augusta (of course I mean the German words) and she would not venture it. Had I a viva voce chance I would try—Is it not deeply touching?

¹ Afterwards the wife of Dean Stanley.



Wallenstein *Act. V. 3.*

Too well I know the treasure I have lost.
The bloom from off my life is swept away,
It lies before me cold and colourless.
For he that stood beside me, like my youth,
He charmed reality into a dream,
And all ~~over~~ all the common face of things
He shed the golden glow of morning's blush;
And in the fire of his affection
Dull forms that throb the life of every day,
Gave to mine own amazement, towered aloft.
With what I may henceforth, the Beautiful
Is gone, and gone without return.

Prologist.

For nothing there than a noble aim
Up from its depths can stir humanity,
The narrow circle narrows to the mind,
And man for greater as his ends are great.

BALMORAL Oct 7 1863

The Queen's talk last night (only think she wants to read the Female Jesuit¹—don't name this) was about Guizot's comparison of the Prince and King William—about Macaulay—America and the ironclads, where she was very national and high-spirited—and Schleswig Holstein in which she is intensely interested because the Prince thought it a great case of justice on the side opposite to that of Lord Palmn. and the Govt. policy. She spoke about this with intense earnestness and said she considered it a legacy from him. . . .

I told Lady Augusta [Bruce] last night, apropos to the lines I wanted to mention, that I had been a great coward, *and she too*. She was very submissive at dinner in her manner to the Queen and I told her it made me feel I had been so impudent.

Only think of this: both through her and through Gen. Grey it has come round to me that she thinks she was too cheerful on the last night I dined—This she feels a kind of sin. She said however to Lady A. she was sure I should understand it.

BALMORAL. Oct 8 1863

The Queen has had a most providential escape—Her carriage, a sociable, very low and safe, was overturned last night after dark on her way back from an expedition of 7 or 8 hours. Princesses Louis of Hesse and Helena were with her. They were undermost and

¹ Belonging to an ephemeral class of literature which flourished in mid-Victorian days and professed to make startling disclosures of alleged enormities practised by the Roman Catholic priesthood *The Female Jesuit; or the Spy in the Family* seems to have aroused an interest which a present-day reader would find it hard to understand. "The Queen has just given me the "Female Jesuit" to return to you," wrote Lady Augusta Bruce a month later. "Her Majesty could hardly put it down and has been much occupied about it!"

not at all hurt. The Queen was shot out of the carriage, received a contusion on the temple and sprained a thumb. When she got in—I think near ten o'clock—Dr. Jenner wished her to go to bed but she said it was of no use and she would not. She was very confident however about performing the duties of the ceremonial in Aberdeen to-morrow, but now this evening it is given up. . . . The Queen should give up these drives after dark—it is impossible to guarantee them. But she says she feels the hours from her drive to dinner such weary hours. . . . Little Princess Victoria paid me a visit in my bedroom, which is also sitting-room, to-day. She is of most sweet temper, decidedly pretty, very like both the Queen and her mother. Then I went to see the three Prussian children and the two elder ones played with my rusty old stick of 20 or 25 years standing.

BALMORAL Oct 9 63

Lady Churchill tells me the Queen is very desirous that the accident should not be made much of: but the sprain is very painful, it is the right hand, & she goes on writing with it, which is a pity, for it cannot be forced to get well, & *my* corresponding blow which was less violent on the hand nevertheless had this effect that the little finger is still without strength.

To make the escape & deliverance yet more remarkable it appears that both the Queen & the Princess had on their riding skirts.

As regards the coachman it seems that he had recently complained to his fellows that his eyes had been affected & that he could not trust himself now to drive in the dark.

HOLYROOD Oct 11 1863

On Friday morning as I expected I talked to the Queen until the last moment—She did give me opportunities which might have led on to anything, but want of time hustled me. . . . She said the one purpose of her life was gone and she could not help wishing that the accident had ended it. This is hardly qualified by another thing which she said, I think, to Lady Churchill, that she shd not like to have died in that way. She went on to speak of her life as being likely to be short. I told her she would not give way, that duty wd sustain her (this she quite recognised) that her burden was altogether peculiar, that the honour was in proportion, that no one could wonder at her feeling the pressure which is near, but that the reward is *there*, though distant. I told her I had been to the place and seen the wheel marks and understood exactly what had happened and was overpowered with a sense of the greatness of her escape and of the goodness of the Almighty in granting it. Her left temple and all about the eye was a good deal discoloured, not much swollen: the right thumb very much discoloured and painful—I begged her not to attempt writing (she said she must occupy herself in order to be able to live at all) but to dictate. She told me she was wrapped up in cloaks and had her hands in a muff (besides the riding skirt of which I had heard)—with all this she was shot out on the road! More about politics which will keep—She rowed me for writing to Ld Palmerston about her accident and said, ‘but, dear Mr. Gladstone, that was quite wrong’. The secret is kept wonderfully and you must keep it. I said it would be a very bad thing to have G. Grey away from such a Cabinet on Tuesday—but all I could get was that I might arrange for any other Minister—

(some one there certainly ought to be). I lectured her a little for driving after dark in such a country but she said all her habits were formed on the Prince's wishes and directions and she could not alter them. Quite apart from Queenship it is the most extraordinary case in the world and the most touching.

AINSLIE PLACE, EDINB. *Oct 12 1863*

Writing to you yesterday I forgot to put V.P. or something of that kind at the head but you would observe that the letter contained something that was secret in the very strictest sense. As regards the accident, Thomas (who knows) tells me that he heard all kinds of rumours on the way—I suppose it will ooze out soon and the public will get it when stale. Indeed the colours on H.M's face to-morrow will tell the tale. I saw Ld Brougham yesterday he looked to me feeble. I fear this week may be over-rushed for him. They idolise him here. I think (perhaps I told you this yesty, I cannot remember) there were 2000 people to see him come out of Church. The Edinb folks are most hospitable. In thus flying through I have had four invitations to dinners out and one for breakfast; almost all public and grand. This evening I dine with the Doctors before starting for London at 9.30 to meet the Prince A. and Ld Brougham.

11 DOWNING STREET *Oct 13 63*

Here I am again at the old desk in the old room, where I have bent many a time over my work with an anxious brow. The Cabinet is over and the business has gone quite as well as such business could. . . .

I had as usual a busy day in Edinburgh. I had time to dine with the Physicians¹ and make my little speech & then get away for the train at 9½. It was a most interesting dinner of about 60 almost all more or less eminent men with Ld Brougham at 85 & Prince Alfred at 18 sitting by one another. I was between the Lord Provost & Mr. Garnier Pagés² a Frenchman of celebrity who talked much and every now and then in transport seized my hand. I tried even a little French joke with him—‘Les médecins d’Edimbourg sont si habiles que quand on est malade on se trouve très bien avec eux!’ You see my education is getting on.

The two letters which follow refer to a claim for £20,000 damages which was made against Lord Palmerston, then in his eightieth year, by a man named O’Kane who had entered him as the co-respondent in a divorce suit against his alleged wife. O’Kane, when called upon to produce evidence of his marriage, failed to do so and, an affidavit having been sworn that the petition had been made for the purpose of extorting money, it was ruled that there was no case.

11 DOWNING ST Nov 10 1863

Since I wrote I have been told that the language now held everywhere respecting Ld P is that it is a *conspiracy*—but there is a report that he gave money to a person who came with a petition: no great sin! It is said that he was extremely low and absent at Windsor—quite unlike himself. Other things have come to me more or less confirmatory of Lady H’s story . . . I know that he has been much annoyed and thought of keeping away from the feast yesterday,

¹ At a banquet given by the Royal College of Surgeons at Edinburgh.

² Louis Antoine Garnier-Pagés, French statesman.

but was persuaded by Brand and his friends to go. Argyll seemed to doubt whether he went to Windsor to make any communication to the Queen: and says that the Queen tells him Ld P becomes increasingly irksome to her.

11 DOWNING ST. *Nov 11 1863*

Last night there was a large party dining at Granville's, Lord and Lady Palmerston included. I spoke with both of them. She was very empressée, complained a little of our not having been to Broadlands, and hoped we should come this year, and soon, as she did not think there would be much to keep the Govt in town. I felt a great deal for her. It must have been a great and painful effort to come up and shew at the feast, and it was gallant to go through with it. Afterwards I spoke to him. And I must modify what I said to you yesterday—that was founded upon observation from some distance at our Cabinet table—But when I came near I could not but perceive that you are right, and that he is seriously hit, not exactly in health, but in spirit, force, and tone. The dart sticks.

11 C. H. T. *Nov 20 63*

I had thought we should get away before Tuesday but my matters are not quite so easy to arrange this year as last—I mean as regards the Estimates. Last year the Resolutions of the House of Commons exercised an influence which is now much weakened. But I am taking all my measures to go as far as I can in pressing for a reduction. The very fact that the revenue is good, & our measures working well, tells

against me, by weakening any sense of necessity or pressure.

11 D. ST. *Dec 16 1863*

The opinion in the Cabinet is that the Queen should not be urged to open Parliament in person but if that she is disposed to do it of her own motion it will be a very good thing.

11 DOWNING ST. *Jan 2 1864*

The Cabinet was on matter of great importance connected with Denmark¹ and has decided rightly to seek the cooperation of France and other Powers before talking about the use in any event of force . . . The Queen wrote a letter which I think did her great credit. Her love of truth and wish to do right prevent all prejudices from effectually warping her.

D. ST. *Mar 12 1864*

I have had an hour's conversation this morning with the King of the Belgians,² who seemed very well, and agreeable and intelligent as usual—We talked much about the Queen. He spoke kindly about everybody, even including the Emperor of the French. At the Levee Prince Alfred looked very well.

OSBORNE *July 23 1864*

The Council is to be held here to-day for approving the Queen's Speech on the Prorogation to-morrow and I return to town with the others in the afternoon.

¹ The Schleswig-Holstein question.

² Leopold I, uncle of Queen Victoria.

The Queen talked much about the Danish question and is very desirous of a more staid and quiet foreign policy. For the first time she takes a just credit to herself for having influenced beneficially the course of policy and of affairs in the late controversy. She asked me particularly about Ld Palmerston's health and strength, without expressing any *wish* one way or another, which seems intelligible enough. I told her a fact which surprised me a few days ago when I happened to follow him up the stairs to the H. of C.—he frequently took two steps at a time—and this, too, when no one saw him.

BALMORAL *Sept 28 1864*

I thought the Queen's state of health and spirits last night very satisfactory . . . Whenever she quotes an opinion of the Prince she looks upon the question as completely shut up by it, for herself and all the world. . . . She has not said a syllable about public affairs to me since I came but talked pleasantly of all manner of things. She rather hopes the planets and stars are not inhabited—and I said 'Are you not a little jealous, Madam?'

BALMORAL *Sep 29 1864*

The Queen sent to offer a day's deer stalking but I am loath to trust my long eyesight. She weighs I am told 11 stone eight pounds—a secret! Rather much for her height.

BALMORAL *Sep 30 1864*

No incident of note here during the last 24 hours except that the Princess Beatrice had a tooth out—a

loose single one. But the Q., Prince Alfred, the valet, and somebody else all tried and failed: Dr. Jenner was called in: by this time (and no wonder) the child was excited, and there was a chase after her round the room: at last Dr J caught her and secured her head under his arm. It was in doubt whether she was to receive the pound, which it seems is the usual fee to the patient in such cases.

BALMORAL *Oct 2 1864*

At dinner last night there was a great deal of conversation and to-day I have been near an hour with the Queen after coming back from Ballater. She was as good and gracious as possible. I can hardly tell you all the things she talked about. Prince Humbert—Garibaldi—Lady Lyttelton—the Hagley boys—Lucy—smoking—dress—fashion—Prince Alfred—his establishment and future plans—P. of Wales's visit to Denmark—revenue—Lancashire—foreign policy—the newspaper press—the habits of the present generation, young men—young married ladies—clubs—Clarendon's journey—the Prince Consort on dress and fashion—P. of Wales on do.—R. Meade—Sir R. Peel—F. Peel—misreading foreign names and words—repute of English people abroad—happy absence of Foreign Office disputes and quarrels—These are all pegs on which to hang recollection and if you like to run over them when we meet it will enable me to tell you all she said. The evening yesterday commenced with a calamity. I ended writing to you at 20 min or more past 8, and dress in the costume takes rather long, and she dines at 8½ rather punctually: in my hurry I drew up the pants violently when lo! they rent frightfully! and I had to write then and there—

note to Prince Alfred beseeching him to make my excuses for improper dress, after which with immense hurry I got ready in time.

BALMORAL Oct 6 1864

The Delawares were very kind—I was trotted out and compelled to sing two songs Lady A. Bannerman accompanying.

The next letter marks the beginning of the end of Gladstone's struggle with Lord Palmerston for economy.

BALMORAL Oct 7 1864

I have fired off to-day my letter to Lord Palmerston about expenditure.¹ For a long time though I did not let myself worry by needlessly thinking about it, I have had it lying on me like a nightmare. I mean it to be moderate (I shall have the copy when we meet to show you) but unless he concurs it may lead to consequences between this and February. What is really painful is to believe that he will not agree unless through apprehension, his own leanings and desires being in favour of a large and not a moderate expenditure. . . . I had another long interview with the Queen to-day. She talked most, and very freely and confidentially, about the Prince of Wales: also about Lord Russell and Lord Palmerston, and about Granville and Clarendon, the latter perhaps to an effect that will a little surprise you. It was a kind of farewell audience.

¹ The correspondence in its entirety can be read in *Gladstone and Palmerston*, by Philip Guedalla.

FASQUE *Oct 8 64*

Our dinner conversation was not as lively as usual. Mrs. Bruce says the Queen was not well: and it seems she drinks her claret strengthened, I should have thought spoiled, with whiskey. Another subject of her conversation yesterday was the new treaty between France and Italy. Princess Helena sent very kind messages to you—& Mrs. Bruce promised me to deliver yours to her.

HN. *Oct. 19 64*

Dr Kingsley sent a telegram to inform me of the sad event¹ at Clumber: but it only arrived 2 hours before the papers, though the death happened last night.

So that brave heart has at last ceased to beat. Certainly in him more than in any one I have known was exhibited the character of our life as a dispensation of pain. This must ever be a mystery for we cannot see the working out of the purposes of God, yet in his case I have always thought some glimpses of them seemed to be permitted—It is well to be permitted also to believe that he is now at rest for ever and that the cloud is at length removed from his destiny. What must be the feelings of his unhappy wife?

CLUMBER *Oct 26 1864—night*

It is a time and place to feel if one could feel. He died in the room where we had been sitting before and after dinner—where, 32 years ago, a stripling, I came over from Newark in fear and trembling to see

¹ Death of the Duke of Newcastle, a close friend of Gladstone's. As Lord Lincoln he had divorced his wife in 1850.

the Duke his father where a stiff horse shoe semi circle then sat round the fire in evenings—Where that rigour melted away in Lady Lincoln's time—where she and her mother sang so beautifully at the piano-forte in the same place where it now stands—The house is full of local memories.

11 C H T. Nov. 9 1864

After more than a fortnight's delay, I received yesterday evening the enclosed very unfavourable letter from Lord Palmerston. I send with it the draft of my reply. Please to retrieve them to-morrow by Willy—for they ought not to be even for that short time out of my custody, but I do not like to keep you in the dark until next week. I suppose the matter may now stand over as far as debate is concerned until next month or even till the middle of January. . . . This *sort* of controversy keeps the nerves too highly strung, and makes me sensitive, fretful, and impatient. I am not by nature brave, I am always between two fears, and I am more afraid of running away than of holding my ground. But I do not quite forget how plentifully I am blessed and sustained, and how mercifully spared other and sorer trials. . . .

The scene¹ last night was very different from that of Monday: but very remarkable, and even more enthusiastic. I was the only layman among 500 lawyers; and it made me, wickedly, think of my position when locked alone in the Naples gaol.

¹ At a banquet given by the benchers of the Temple and Lincoln's Inn to M. Berryer, the French advocate.

11 C. H. T. *Jan 5 1865*

I have seen Miss Coutts¹ and am actually going with her to-night, after dining, to a pantomime at Covent Garden.

D. St. *Jan 19 1865*

The Cabinet to-day has been about as rough as any of the roughest times. In regard to the Navy Estimates, I have had no effective or broad support: platoon firing more or less in my sense from Argyll and Gibson—four or five more silent—the rest hostile. Probably they will appoint a Committee of Cabinet and we may work through—but on the other hand we may not. My opinion is manifestly in a minority: but there is an unwillingness to have a row.

I am not well able to write about other things—these batterings are sore work, but I must go through. C. Paget² and Childers hold their ground.

11 C. H. T. *Jan 21 1865*

Nothing new in politics to-day. The Committee of Cabinet does not meet till this day week. Argyll tells me he thinks my statement yesterday made an impression. Clarence Paget and his colleague are I believe quite staunch—and I believe also that Somerset³ is a little more flexible. Ld. P and Ld. R—who really are our old women on these subjects—were by no means favourable in their declaration yesterday, and I am not at all able to judge how it will end.

¹ Baroness Burdett-Coutts (1814–1906).

² Lord Clarence Paget (1811–1895), then Secretary to the Admiralty.

³ Duke of Somerset (1804–1885), First Lord of the Admiralty.

OSBORNE Jan 31 1865

The Queen and Princess both ask about you abundantly. I have been most pertinacious about seeing the baby Prince.¹ I tried to make the request twice to the Princess but I think she did not understand my words. Determined not to be beat I applied to the Prince, who acceded with *glee*—but I don't know what will come of it.

I dined last night and also saw the Queen before dinner but only for a quarter of an hour or so. She talked about Japan and Lord Palmerston but there was not time to get into swing and nothing said of nearer matters. She supposes this Govt will not be seriously assailed while Ld. P. lasts, but expects him to have his usual winter attack after the session has begun. I don't know whether she will send for me to-day but Phipps has been to me from her with a letter of Lord P's about the Railway affair—undeniable in what it says but not a becoming or proper or gentlemanly like letter from *him* to *her*.

CLUMBER Oct 18 1865

The bewildering news of to-day is Lord Palmerston's illness. I have indeed nothing distinct but the accounts appear to be very alarming. God send him peace at the last, and support her in what will be a very heavy trial—heavy, whether the end be death or retirement, and I suppose it can scarcely be less than one of these.

The death of Lord Palmerston was followed by the short-lived administration of Lord John (then Earl) Russell in which

¹ The Duke of Clarence.

Gladstone became Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the House of Commons.

CLUMBER Oct 18 1865

An hour after I had written to you in came a telegram from Willy with the news of Lord Palmerston's death.¹ I think it was you who had long said, 'you will see he will go off suddenly'.

This is an event that has made my brain spin. The Queen will have to act. Clearly she should send for Lord Russell. With such consideration as I can give the matter at this moment I write to *him*.

CLUMBER Oct 19 1865

I cannot now recollect how much I told you in my note written after midnight. But understand that what I have offered Lord Russell is to remain in my present office *exactly as I am*. It is very singular, as you observe, that these critical junctures have commonly arisen when you are away from me.

CLUMBER Oct 20 1865

This great event shakes me down to the foundation, by the sense of coming trouble.

I think two things were clear

1 The Queen should have come to London

2 She should have sent for Lord Russell

I fear she has done neither.

Willy telegraphs to me that a letter from Lord R.

¹ 'Death has laid low the most towering antlers in the forest.' Gladstone to Sir A. Panizzi.

had come to Downing Street. Now had he heard from the Queen he would (so I reason) either have telegraphed for me to go up, or sent a letter by a messenger, instead of leaving it to kick its heels in D. St for a day. And we hear nothing of the Queen's moving. She is getting to a groove, out of which someone ought to draw her.

CLUMBER *Oct 21 1865*

As far as political matters are concerned, I am happier this morning—Lord Russell, pleased with my letter, writes to say he has been commissioned 'to carry on the present Govt' as First Lord—wishes me to co-operate 'in the capacity I now fill as a principal member of the Administration'. I think that I have struck a stroke for economy which will diminish difficulty when we come to Estimates for the year.

I hope from his letter that he means to ask G. Grey to lead—which will be very acceptable to me.

11 C. H. T. *Oct 22 1865*

I came up last night and very glad I am of it. I found that Lord Palmerston's funeral was about to be private, not because the family wished it, but because nothing had been proposed to them. I at once sent down to Richmond and Pembroke Lodge and the result is that Evelyn Ashley has been written to by Lord R. and authorised to telegraph to Balmoral to propose a funeral in Westminster Abbey. It is now very late, as all the preparations must have been made. But, in such a matter especially, better late than never. Between ourselves I think Lord Russell ought to have made sure on such a matter.

You will have been amused to see that on Friday the *Times* actually put me up for Prime Minister, and yesterday knocked me down again! There is a rumour that it was the old story, Delane¹ out of town. I was surprised at the first article, not at the second. All I am sorry to say seem to take for granted that I am to lead the H. of Commons. But this is not so simple a matter. First it must be offered to Sir Geo Grey. If he refuses, then secondly I do not think I can get on without a different arrangement of Treasury and C. of E's business which will not be easy. But the worst of all is the distribution of offices as between the two Houses. It had long been felt that the H. of C. was too weak and the H. of L. too strong in the share of the important offices—and now the Premiership is to be carried over, unavoidably. No such thing has ever been known as an Administration with the First Lord, Foreign Sec, Sec for War, and 1st Lord of the Admiralty in the H of Lords. *This* is really a stiff business.

11 C. H. T. Oct 23 1865

Lord Palmerston is to be buried in the Abbey on Friday: the family are pleased. I saw W. Cooper as well as E. Ashley to-day. They give a good account of Lady P. . . .

Lord Russell offers me the lead—I have promised to settle it to-morrow. His physical strength is low, but I suppose in the Lords he may get on. The greatest difficulty is having almost all the important offices in the Lords.

¹ John Thadeus Delane (1817–1879), editor of *The Times*.

11 C. H. T. *Oct 24 1865*

There are divers proposals on foot but I think little will be finally settled before Friday. Sir R. Peel¹ will probably have a peerage offered him. I have not yet accepted the lead formally, but I suppose it must come to that. The main question is whether anything, and what, can be done to improve the structure of the Govt as between the two Houses.

11 D. ST. *Nov 14 1865*

In Cabinet to-day it has only been decided to offer Peel the Duchy of L[ancaster] as a place of refuge after the Secretaryship for Ireland, which he is to vacate in order that it may be given to C. Fortescue.

D. ST. *Dec 6 1865*

Lord Russell is in bed with cold. A French paper funnily calls him 'le vieux collègue du vieux Pam,' and 'le venerable John'.

11 C. H. T. *Jan 11 1866*

All that I heard last night and to-day shows me more and more the extreme and gratuitous folly of Lord R's proceedings about Goschen. It is a serious political error, without the smallest excuse of any kind and committed in the teeth of remonstrance.

Lady Palmerston is to have a Peerage offered her in her own right with the alternative of its going direct to Cowper—in that case he would vacate his office.

Rather a grand party at Lady Molesworth's—

¹ 2nd Bart. Irish Secretary under Lord Palmerston.

Brunnows, Apponyi, D of St Albans with the Dss and 'dear Di' as Ly M called her. Sir R. Peel very gracious. Bob Lowe was there in great force: very *bumptious* as I understand against the Govt. Both these were astounded about Goschen.

What wd they say if they knew that Goschen is the *fifth* man whom Ld R has proposed since he came in for what is wrongly called the vacant place in the Cabinet.

Horsmann !
 Sir R. Peel !!
 Bouverie !!!
 Bruce !!!!
 Goschen !!!!!

I saw F Lawley to-day: he says the D. Telegraph is worth near £70,000 per ann!

11 C. H. T. *Jan 12 1866.*

Public affairs call on me every day, it seems to me, for three times as much force of brain as I possess, and to attempt anything else that entails real labour, anything else except play, is something very much like theft committed upon the Crown and country.

11 C. H. T. *July 20 1867*

Well, my prejudices were not for the Sultan but I was decidedly pleased with his manner: I thought it intelligent, kind, quiet, dignified, and firm. Of course I speak of it with reference to the Oriental type.

Madame Musurus¹ died at half past one this

¹ Wife of the Turkish minister.

morning. The account is that he and the poor family are as well as can be hoped.

The Sultan was late and the reason given was the shock of Madame M's death which had only just been told him.

LIVERPOOL *N. 15 1868*

I should greatly like to go to Hatfield. But seriously I am afraid on his account: it will cause me no difficulty with the Liberals—but surely might damage him with the Conservatives who are now in a false position but may get out of it. I trust he has at any rate considered the subject.

5. FOUR TIMES PRIME MINISTER

A brief account of Gladstone's premierships may help in the perusal of the last series of letters.

In December 1868 Gladstone, whilst cutting down a tree¹ at Hawarden, received a telegram announcing that General Grey, then private secretary to Queen Victoria, was on his way from Windsor. The message could have had only one meaning, and a few days later Gladstone became Prime Minister for the first time. 'I feel like a man with a burden under which he 'must fall and be crushed if he looks to the right or left or fails 'from any cause to concentrate mind or muscle upon his 'progress step by step.' Thus he wrote at the beginning of what was destined to be the most fruitful of his four administrations. The General Election of 1874 witnessed a change of Government, and in the following year Gladstone announced his retirement from the leadership of the Liberal Party. In the latter part of 1874 and the beginning of 1875 Gladstone's pen was busy with fulminations against the Vatican, and in 1876 appeared his famous pamphlet on the Bulgarian atrocities. The agitation which followed the publication of the latter helped to bring to a head the popular discontent with the Government of Lord Beaconsfield, and in 1880 Gladstone, with the nation at his back, again became Prime Minister. In June 1885 a division on the Budget Bill brought about the resignation of the Government, and Lord Salisbury became Prime Minister. The latter had held office for a few months only when Gladstone's third ministry, which lasted for an even shorter period, came into power. His fourth and last administration was formed in 1892, when Gladstone was in his eighty-third year, and in 1894 he retired from public life.

BALMORAL *Sep 11 1869*

I got here at six all right: in floods of rain until this side of Aberdeen where it faired. I had some

¹ To Gladstone one of the attractions of tree-felling was that it combined a 'maximum of exercise in a minimum of time'.

breakfast and then went to bed. Free leave to give luncheon to Stephen¹ and the boys but they must spirit themselves up to taking their places at the table with the Household. . . .

It was amusing to see the people peeping in last night ever so late at the stations and sometimes a little dialogue—'Is he in it?' 'Aye, he's for Balmoral.' 'I'll just tak a look of him.'

BALMORAL *Sep 21 1869*

I have actually been out to a drive of roe-deer: little sport but beautiful day: only three shots, killed one buck and a pigeon!—missed a doe in the wood, or at least did not kill, so I hope I missed.

HAGLEY *Jan 17 1870*

Edward Talbot² preached last night. His sermon was youthful: but able: and what was more, it was noble and high hearted to a degree. He with his bride to be makes a charming sight. His whole manner of performing Divine Service is quite admirable: but I am afraid he over-feels.

11 C. H. T. *March 26 1870*

A much sadder event has happened here. General Grey, after twelve epileptic fits, has been seized with *right* paralysis, which is the more formidable kind: and he lies in the most critical state, though I believe not a hopeless one.

¹ Sir Stephen Glynne.

² Bishop Talbot, then Warden of Keble.

We have had a severe Parliamentary week with a double sitting yesterday and a sitting to-day, before the Cabinet. The Crimes Bill has gone through. I mean to keep myself as quiet as I can till we set to on Monday with the Land Bill.

11 C. H. T. *March 27 1870*

The bulletin of Gen Grey reports that the physicians see ground for hope: but both West¹ and Ld Halifax, whom I have seen, I think are without any confidence at all as to the upshot. You know the Duchess of St A[lbans] has had a boy in the house at nearly the same time, and knows nothing of the attack. It seems she had a strange presentiment that something strange and sad was to happen to her father at the time of her confinement. Last night I heard Mad. Neruda extremely well at Mrs Sartoris's music: it was perfectly delightful.

11 C. H. T. *Aprl 29 1870*

Only think there is a plan for my taking Balmoral at Whitsuntide instead of the Autumn and it looks as if it might be managed. Clarke² recommends it much. It will depend on the Queen.

Prospects of Irish Land Bill good, and progress improves. Granville gouty: Glyn³ far from strong, feels his work.

Clark sends (keep this very quiet) a *bad* account of the Archbishop and fears either another stroke or softening of the brain.

¹ Sir Algernon West, Gladstone's private secretary.

² Sir Andrew Clark (1826-1893), physician.

³ George Grenfell Glyn, 2nd Baron Wolverton (1824-1887), Liberal Whip.

It seems his *first* desire was to resign and he actually executed an act of resignation to be ready in case of need.

One of the greatest disasters which ever befell the British Navy in peace time occurred in 1870 when the iron-clad turret ship *Captain* sank in a squall off the coast of Finisterre. Amongst the 481 officers and men who lost their lives was a son of Childers, at that time First Lord of the Admiralty in Gladstone's Government.

11 C. H. T. *Sep 10 1870*

How you will have been grieved and shocked this morning by the accounts of the foundering of the 'Captain', which with his usual mindfulness West, as I learn from him, wrote last night to apprise you of.

Strange to say, I cannot dismiss from my mind the idea that the foundering is not absolutely certain and that it is just conceivable the ship may have driven away in the storm, and may have lost spars and boats. But I would not encourage you to rely upon this vague idea. It is singular that the Admiral who has actually sent a vessel home with the report should not have stated more positively and clearly the grounds of his conclusion.

11 C. H. T. *Sep 12 1870*

I am grieved to see to-day in the Observer a more detailed account of the grounds for believing that the Captain has gone down. But I am told some of the men have been saved.—I dare hardly hope for the ship and crew.

11 C. H. T. *Sep 12. 1870*

On Sat I heard in the evening the Christy Minstrels for the first time. This dialogue took place. Minstrel A. 'Mr. B. I have not seen you for six months or so' B. 'No, I have been visiting among my friends' A. 'What friends?' B. 'I have been seeing Gladstone and the Prince of Wales and a few more' A. 'Seeing Gladstone! etc.' So absurd. I was in a corner.

11 C. H. T. *Sep 13. 1870*

Thiers is come from France and is now with Granville. I am not precisely aware what he will say but there does not seem to be much hope at present.

Granville has been here and I am to see Thiers at six. He comes on behalf of the French Government, but I do not think more is likely to arise out of his mission than perhaps a direct journey of Jules Favre to the Prussian headquarters to see and speak for himself.¹

11 C. H. T. *Sep. 14th 1870*

Yesterday I saw Thiers and had a long conversation with him: He was very clear and touching in parts. But the purpose of his mission is vague—the report in the Times of to-day is quite untrue. He seems to have come to do just what he can. But some say that he has arranged the whole thing to get away from the siege of Paris.

The story now is, according to Lavalette, that the Empress is very poor. D. of Hamilton has offered both his Scotch places, and, rather strangely, D. of

¹ The Franco-Prussian War had commenced in July.

Sutherland offers her Trentham. She has been a great calamity to France in a political sense, though she seems to have fine points.

11 C. H. T. *Sep 15 1870*

The Corporation of Rochester have sent a most enormous sturgeon as a present! The box is some six feet long. By Mrs. Hamilton's advice it is going to the fishmonger's. I thought of sending it to you but it is so large that it would be only an embarrassment.

Things here keep hanging on. The proposal that Favre shall be received at the Prussian camp is gone there and the answer may perhaps come to-morrow.

11 C. H. T. (*probably Sep 20*) 1870

I am very glad, and you too will be glad that I am here for I have been able to quicken our movements in a case of the utmost importance to humanity, as it involves the question of getting thousands of wounded men into proper quarters. I write about this to G—¹ ask him for my letter. Think of 70,000 killed and wounded between Sunday and Thursday last.

11 C. H. T. *Sep 22 1870*

We think of a Cabinet on or about the 4th of October, probably to recognise the French Republic if it shall then have received the approval of the country. . . . Favre still with Bismarck but no great hope at present. B. says he does not attach

、 ¹ Lord Lyttelton.

much value to human life as he believes in a future state: says it would be different if men lived 300 or 400 years!

11 C. H. T. *Sep. 24 1870*

How narrowly dear young Reginald¹ lost his chance of being saved—Had he only been on the deck. . . .

I have just sent off my MS for the *Edinb. Review*²—very secret. It is long, and has cost me much more trouble than I expected, I imagine because I am getting old.

Last night being in the City I went and saw Hamlet at Sadlers Wells. The part was acted with great ability. I paid 2/- for the best place.

11 C. H. T. *Sep 28 1870*

My article is immensely approved by Reeve³ the Editor. Granville is to read it in type to-day. It is a *great* secret.

Strasburg, according to the last telegram, is given up by its gallant and iron souled Commander.⁴

The proceedings of Jules Favre with Bismarck are to me quite unintelligible. We had a brave dinner party last night at Count Bernstorff's. They behaved

¹ A son of Sidney Herbert's.

² 'Germany, France and England,' published anonymously, and afterwards reprinted in *Gleanings*, where a footnote reads: 'This article is the 'only one ever written by me, which was meant, for the time, to be in sub-stance, as well as in form, anonymous: Motives of public duty, which 'appeared to be of sufficient weight, both led to its composition, and also 'prohibited me from divulging its authorship.—W. E. G.' Gladstone seems to have forgotten his article, also published anonymously, in the *Foreign and Colonial Quarterly Review* of January 1843, v. p. 45.

³ Henry Reeve (1813–1895). Edited the *Edinburgh Review*, 1856–1895.

⁴ General Uhrich.

well showing no exaltation . . . probably the siege of Paris will now go on for a time, without very great or wholesale bloodshed.

10 DOWNING STREET *Oct 19, 70*

On arriving, a little late, at Euston I found telegrams from Brussels awaiting me which announced that Peace had been signed. They seemed to be too good to be true. We are still much in the dark. The Russian, Prussian, and French Embassies have heard nothing.—But on the whole I *do not* believe.

We have summoned the Cabinet for to-morrow to consider whether in the present state of things we can do anything for peace. It is now rather disposed to go further than I am—the change I cannot quite make out.

10 DOWNING STREET *Oct 20. 1870*

The information about peace is not true, but there are reports in Berlin as well as Brussels to the effect that proceedings are going on, how irregular or how partial we know not, with a view to a change in the present state of things. What appears clear is that the Prussians find difficulties in the siege of Paris much beyond what they anticipated and that they would be glad to get out if they could, on what terms there does not yet clearly appear.

11 C. H. T. *Oct 22 1870*

The effect of war is that with the utmost exertion we cannot get a dispatch (that of Thursday) to the

Prussian Headquarters before Paris under 50 hours—it being usually done in 10 or 11. No *war* news to-day: the Duke of Aosta is likely to be King of Spain.

11 C. H. T. *Oct 23. 1870*

There is really pretty good hope of an armistice though it is not quite certain. We are busy promoting it. What I think quite certain is that the Prussians find more difficulty than they had reckoned on.

11 C. H. T. *Oct 25 1870*

We do not know what will happen about the Armistice: but Thiers is a much sharper fellow than Jules Favre. If they make one it will show a good disposition to treat for peace. We expect the fall of Metz immediately.

10 DOWNING STREET *Nov 20. 70*

I have had a long sederunt with Granville and I think matters look pretty well though some crude ideas have been floating about even within the precinct of the Cabinet. The Russian answer is not what it should have been but is such as to cause correspondence not a quarrel outright. We do not yet absolutely and certainly know the shape in which it will be delivered.

D. ST. *Nov 25, 870*

The Russian answer is come. Our reply will not go before Monday. They write in a smooth and civil

tone, but the substance is certainly not satisfactory. The Prussians however are disposed to assist in bringing about a conference, indeed to take the lead: and as we shall work upon this it may not improbably lead to a clearing up of the question.

11 C. H. T. *Nov 28 1870*

I was, as you would suppose, most pleasantly and kindly treated at Hatfield. They expect us at their ball if we are in the south, not otherwise.

I am glad to say that the Russian question wears a greatly improved aspect. Bismarck is exerting himself with a will, Russia is isolated, and it is likely that in a few days we may have the whole matter in train for a pacific discussion and solution in conference.

HAWARDEN *Dec 14 1870*

I presume it will be our duty to ask explanations from Bismarck about Luxemburg—the affair may take a serious turn if he does not give them in a satisfactory manner.

11 C. H. T. *Dec 17 1870*

It was very difficult to explain political prospects two days back. But the Luxemburg affair is to-day materially improved: and the Russian business proceeds tolerably well.

Bright has resigned. His office is offered to Fortescue¹ This is private.

¹ Chichester Fortescue, afterwards Lord Carlingford (1823–1898).

HAWARDEN *Dec 29 1870*

I am engaged in a desperate tussle with Hartington to make him take the Irish secretaryship, which he pertinaciously (excuse the word) refuses. He is however coming down here this evening, to fight it out; and really I scarcely know how to say to him with civility that which I have to say. Glyn remains here to see, and to advise upon, the issue.

HAWARDEN *Dec 30. 1870*

This has been a day of relief here for Hartington who came down last night this morning in a long and friendly conversation gave in and accepted the Irish Office. The Post Office without Cabinet will be offered to Monsell¹—and other minor promotions may follow in their course.

HAWARDEN *Jan 3, 1871*

The news of to-day that three Forts have been silenced by the Germans, if it is true and not a stratagem, would seem to be serious for the French. About this time it is supposed General Chanzy means to move forward. Altogether it seems that the next few days may give us news of importance.

HAWARDEN *Jan 7 1871*

I found in Dryden yesterday² a line *most* suitable to be addressed to you on that day:

‘And ever be thou blest, who liv’st to bless’

And it is worth sending now, if a day too late.

¹ William Monsell (Lord Emly), 1812–1894.

² Mrs. Gladstone’s birthday.

I did not pass unnoticed what you said of sleep, and I act upon it. My general rule is to take all my frame will accept. Hence freshness in the morning for the day's work.

I am more pleased with Harry every day. He is really a charming companion: modest, intelligent, and beyond anything active and obliging. I think he enjoyed the dinner yesterday.

HAWARDEN *Jan 9. 1871*

Childers¹ reports so ill of himself that he considers he must resign. I do not feel certain of the necessity as he gives me no definite medical facts or opinions—and I intend to go up to Town to-morrow and see Dr. Gull. If he resigns there will be much difficulty in making a satisfactory arrangement to fill his place.

10 DOWNING STREET *March 31 1871*

The great collapse of the Purchase debate² was followed by one equally marked last night when Sir C Dilke's motion of censure was negatived without division after seven hours' debate: Disraeli and I paired off together as to speaking—In this he so far had the best that he would have had an adverse House as well as a bad case: but for the sake of saving time and bringing the matter to a close at once in such a very satisfactory way I was too happy to let the matter drop. . . .

I write from my seat at H of C where I have just been making a speech on the War and Peace. I think

¹ Hugh Culling Eardley Childers (1827–1896), then First Lord of the Admiralty.

² Abolition of purchase in the Army.

it might interest you and I hope I shall not forget to send you the Times of to-morrow which will contain it.

10 DOWNING STREET *April 1 1871*

I am going down to Chiselhurst if I can, to leave my name for the Emperor,¹ and nothing more. Then I am to dine with Panizzi.

Just returned, in time for post. A policeman guards the ex-Emperor's gate and follows him when he goes out—he sometimes walks down to the station and buys a penny paper! If he had had plenty of free penny papers in France, it might have done him good. I could not help going as far as the Coopers to look at the door for the recollections of that place are pleasant. I wrote your name as well as my own in a book which would have cost about 4*d.*

11 C. H. T. *Apl 2 1871*

Yesterday we sent to America an important telegram which *ought* to settle the Alabama question.

11 C. H. T. *April 4 1871*

The important question of the Alabama arbitration I now consider to be settled, i.e. we have virtually agreed upon instructions to an arbitrator and it will be very difficult for the Americans again to draw back.

¹ Napoleon III.

11 C. H. T. *April 18 1871*

I have had a very hard day: the perplexities of the American negotiation carried on by telegram are extreme: the combination of Cabinet work in the early afternoon with the long sitting of Parliament from half past four onwards was most severe. But there is nothing bad—on the contrary we hope to solve the problem hitherto so impracticable.

Poor Lord Russell shows a state of sad irritability with reference to this subject in writing to Granville. . . .

I get fresh evidence on that painful subject of the feeling as to the Monarchy. Things are certainly on the road to the bad: but I hope they may be arrested—the foundations are deep and the walls strong . . . will Stephen kindly send me his last Spectator, or cut out the article in which the Monarchy and loss of social influence are referred to.

11, CARLTON-HOUSE TERRACE, S.W. *Ap 20. 71.*

You shall at any rate have the benefit of the Budget about to be disclosed. It is simple.

Deficit about	£2,700,000
To be supplied by	
1. Tax on Lucifers and other matches	500 m
2. Alteration of Legacy and Succession Duties	300 m
3. Income Tax raised from £1.13.4 per Cent to £2.4.0 per Cent	1900 m
	2,700 m

With some small surplus.

I suppose it will pass—though the people, accustomed to remissions, may make some wry faces.

Forster dined us admirably at his Club last night but I shall not repeat the experiment of the French Play. You pay 10/6, strain much to hear, and hear but little. The acting was good. Poor things, they cannot like it at this time.

WINDSOR *May 7 1871*

I came down prosperously with Prince Arthur¹ who also dined at Gloucester House and we arrived very punctually. To-day I have had a longish audience and the Queen was very gracious. She is rather against the Women's Franchise and surprised at the Conservative support given to the measure, but she admitted the laws are not wholly just to women and seemed rather to approve of my specific. I dine in the evening. Prince Arthur is full of life and intelligence, fond of art.

10 D. ST. *Aug 9. 1871*

We continue hard worked here. Ten hours at H. of C. yesterday and the same the day before. And an extra Cabinet to-day almost entirely about the difficulties of the Queen's determination to go northwards with too little regard to the Prorogation and the public business. Now here is no question of health or strength: and it is truly deplorable. . . . Disraeli let off fireworks yesterday on the third reading of the Ballot Bill. But I think his real object was to promote its progress in the Lords.

10 D. ST. *Aug 10. 1871*

The weather makes the work severe and the sittings are very long. But the belief is that the last

¹ The Duke of Connaught.

struggle will be to-night—Disraeli almost told me last night he meant to go to-morrow. New events however have cropped up inconveniently. . . .

The conduct of the Queen however has been my great trouble. It weighs upon me like a nightmare. Notice was given on Monday about a question on her going to Balmoral. I wrote the fullest particulars on Monday Tuesday and Wednesday for her to reply, and this day I have had to answer the question without a word from her. All we know is that she has been in a state of great excitement, complaining of everybody and saying things you would not believe, and this not upon being asked to *do* anything great or small but simply to postpone for three days the journey to Scotland—It is deplorable.

At Brunnow's dinner I was greatly pleased with the Grand Duke Constantine.

CASSIOBURY PARK, WATFORD *Aug 13 1871*

The Queen will I fear go northwards on the 16th: but the House has grown too thin and tired to admit of our having a row, though we have two considerable debates unfinished, on the Purchase warrant, and on the Dublin riots. We have not acquiesced or approved but she acts off her own hook. Meanwhile she does not seem to be actually angry with us but with the world in general. I have no doubt she thinks us most unreasonable. To-day I have from her a piteous detail of what she has suffered and how she has been upset; and I have no doubt it is true; but to think of the cause! It is the strangest and subtlest working of the selfish principle in a fine character that I have ever seen.

10 DOWNING ST. *Aug 15 1871*

The Queen goes to-morrow after all. We told her the Prorogation might have been on Saturday if she had stayed—And all might be over for her by noon of that day—but for her to leave Windsor in the heat of the day was ‘impossible’!

The House of Commons sat 13 hours yesterday without a break—I was there for nearly twelve myself—now, I think, the length of sittings will decline fast.

THORNES, *Sep 5 1871*

The station at Wakefield was occupied by a crowd—who gave me a most enthusiastic reception. And to-day I have been obliged to receive an Address: which Gaskell¹ most kindly allowed to be presented here, as there would have been a greater to-do in the town.

Coming back here after nearly forty years fills me with a feeling difficult to describe—It is almost as if the soul had undergone transmigration from a former state of existence. I have a vivid recollection of the place as it was associated with much kindness received and with my first stepping out from a very retired childhood and youth into the world. His kindness is extreme: while in many things he is quaint, but has much information, founded on much reading. The place has been much improved in this generation, but has also suffered unavoidably from smoke. The uncle Mr. D[aniel] Gaskell is perhaps the very youngest old man I have ever seen: really a wonderful specimen. My coming has pleased him and it was quite right.

¹ James Milnes Gaskell, *ante*.

BALMORAL *Sep 26 1871*

I send you, *at a cost of ½d*, a curiosity—my speech was finished in Aberdeen to-day at two, and at a quarter past four I found a paper at the Railway station with the report of it which I dispatch by this evening's post. . . .

My night I must admit was not very successful in point of sleep—however I was quite fresh enough for work, though the breaches of continuity in travelling had scarcely given me fair play. At Perth and most of the stations after it were loud and friendly greetings. At Aberdeen a great crowd and welcome warmer if possible than Yorkshire or Lancs. The meeting was large, say 2,500, and enthusiastic—I spoke three quarters of an hour without a drop of water which shows I had not suffered much. The Lord Provost who was kind beyond anything, and regulated everything in the journey from Carlisle northwards for me, gave an excellent luncheon afterwards. A good County as well as town gathering. I came back with Ld. Huntley who seems to be of lively and intelligent mind and a good country gentleman.

BALMORAL. *Sep 28 1871*

The time is rolling on easily at this quiet place. The Queen is reported to go on well: to be thinner and of less high colour, and, as Sir T. Biddulph¹ adds, better-looking. She wrote to me yesterday that she expected to see me in a day or two. The party here is small: Lady Churchill and Miss Macdonald, Ponsonby and Jenner with one or two more. We breakfast

¹ Gen. Sir Thomas Myddleton Biddulph (1809–1878), Keeper of the Privy Purse.

six or eight. The P. and Princess Louis of Hesse dine most days. To-day I walked with her and her party. . . . She is quick, kind and well-informed—I got her to-day on the subject of the religious movement in the R.C. Church of Germany—She is imbued with her Father's ideas, and I think goes beyond them—She quoted Strauss to me, as giving his opinion that the movement would come to nothing. She said that infallibility was the legitimate development of the Roman system. I replied that the Roman system had grown up by a multitude of scarcely perceptible degrees out of the earliest form of Christianity, and that if we adopted this notion of legitimate development we ran a risk of making St. Paul responsible for the Vatican Council. She talked much about the Hospitals in which she worked so hard *while nursing* her baby: a very fine one which she introduced to me with two flourishing elder children. She hates war: and is not easy as to the future. . . .

Jenner has given me a long account of the Queen's illness in three stages, of throat (which at one time was *near* imminent danger), abscess, and flying rheumatic gout. She has had without doubt a serious bout. But that speech of Dizzy's savours of his usual flunkeyism. Its natural operation will be to increase her bias against visible public duties: and as a measure of defence for her it is quite needless as there is now no voice of criticism to be heard. Besides he says what is in some points absurdly untrue. The bulk of H.M.'s official work is certainly not large.

BALMORAL. *Sep 30 1871*

Last night we dined ten at Abergeldie. The Prince of Wales had his usual pleasant manner. . . .

After dinner he invited me to play whist. I said, 'For love, Sir?' He said, 'Well, shillings and half-a-crown on the rubber' to which I submitted. Ponsonby and I against the Prince and Brasseur, a charming old Frenchman, his tutor in the language. The Prince has apparently an *immense* whist memory and plays well accordingly. All the time there was the most execrable music I ever heard: the Duke of Edinburgh on the violin, accompanying the pianoforte, out of time and most horribly out of tune. It was a truly astonishing performance.

BALLATER STATION. Oct 4 1871

Here am I ensconced in the Station Master's box at Ballater after a 15 or 16m. walk through the hills. . . . These solitary walks among the hills I think refresh and invigorate me more than anything else. To-day the early part of the day was glorious and the wind most bracing as it came over the mass of mountains. I bid farewell reluctantly to Balmoral for it is as home-like as any place away from home can be, and wonderfully safe from invasions. . . . I had an interesting conversation with Princess Louise about the Queen this morning. She is very sensible of the mischief, as is the P. of Wales. I wish that *he* and the Queen could exchange their opinions of one another: it would be good for them, and for the nation.

EDINBURGH Oct 8 1871

I got here last night before seven and had the most affectionate welcome from the Dean [Ramsay] that you can conceive: a dinner party followed, and now

I have for the *first time* since the Government was formed had a holiday of two whole days. . . . The Dean preached at St. John's this morning about Ruth. The sermon was beautiful and the voice and manner with his venerable age made it very striking—He put an astonishing energy in it and his clear melodious tones rang through and through as they did when I first heard him 43½ years ago. It was altogether most touching and he told me afterwards he had wished to preach to me once more before he died—But I rejoice to say his life seems a very good one. I would not have missed the occasion for much.

EDINBRO. Oct 10 1871

There is here a sylph-like niece of the Dean who watches him like a beautiful combination of wife and daughter. This creature never eats solids of any kind. The Dean assures me that from week's end to week's end, in short habitually, her only food known to him is

Coffee
Ices
Salad
Grapes

But she is lively, active and attentive to everybody in the highest degree. If you see Dr. A. Clark mention her.

11 C. H. T. Apl 6 1872

I thought Disraeli's speech¹ a very bad one except the figure about Volcanoes. The opinion among *us* is that it can do no harm whatever.

¹ At the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, Disraeli compared the members of Gladstone's Government with 'a range of exhausted volcanoes'.

H. OF C. 6.30 P.M. May 27 1872

Here I am in the thick of it all again. The Cabinet all thought (as I had done last night) that we could not accept but must amend the American proposals. In this sense we have acted.

Secret

Lock up this

H. OF C. June 15 1872

Alack you have forgotten the Arbitration at Geneva and the grave matters to be brought to issue to-morrow. The Cabinet must be *en séance* most of the day—and it is highly probable that our work may not be over until late at night. Any arrangement therefore for coming to Brighton is I fear quite out of the question. . . .

Yesterday I took all possible measures with reference to to-morrow so that the position might be thoroughly understood. I got so far as to have pretty effectual preparations made for the worst than can happen. And I think the odds are still in favour of our surmounting the barrier. There is indeed considerable hope that it may not come to an internal struggle. Granville leans to that opinion as does Forster: Ripon the other way. More details hereafter. I have given the Queen an inkling.

10 DOWNING ST. Aug 7 1872

I have had a letter from Osborne utterly against the plan¹ for the P. of W.—hoping I shall give it up—and proposing mere nothings in its place.

¹ For a royal residence in Ireland.



THE ALABAMA ARBITRATION

THE CABINET WAITING FOR NEWS FROM GENEVA

- | | |
|---------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Mr. Goschen | 8. Earl of Kimberley |
| 2. Mr. Cardwell | 9. Mr. Gladstone |
| 3. Mr. H. A. Bruce | 10. Earl Granville |
| 4. Duke of Argyll | 11. Mr. W. E. Forster |
| 5. Marquess of Ripon | 12. Lord Hatherley |
| 6. Marquess of Hartington | 13. Mr. Stansfeld |
| 7. Viscount Halifax | |

From the Drawing by E. Fairfield

MUIR OF ORD AND ON THE ROAD. *Oct 9 1872*

A word to bid you all good-bye after that sharp but not uninteresting scrimmage which left you like Ariadne solitary on a desert island and nearly changed the face of the habitable globe. After signalling to you and getting your counter signals I likewise made violent manifestations (shake) to the good folks on the other side of the lake, I know not whether with success. The train was before its time but my watch also had betrayed me.

Lord Balfour has related¹ the story of Gladstone's departure from a visit to Whittingehame in 1872 when in the endeavour to stop an approaching train he and the Prime Minister had to plough their way on foot through 'undrained bog and splashing 'pools,' his anxiety lest the 'great man' should fail to be present at a Cabinet meeting summoned for the following day and his relief when the catastrophe was narrowly avoided. 'As the 'train ran slowly out of the station,' to quote Lord Balfour, 'I 'saw with intense thankfulness a pair of wet socks hanging out 'of the window to dry.' Here is Gladstone's account.

At the station I was so anxious on the question whether Mr. Balfour had over-exerted himself in the rain, that I could not thank him as I ought for the kindness which has added beyond measure to the common pleasures of a visit. . . . You would or might observe that I was forced to abandon my good resolutions about my feet and dance through the little waters without circumbundibus. I took off my feet (the Scotch say change your feet) when I got into the train and effected a partial and considerable drying by dancing my socks in the air and putting my shoes in

¹ *Chapters of Autobiography*, 1930.

the sun. Perhaps I shall make a more complete operation when I have done this.

11 C. H. T. *Dec 13 1872*

The business¹ with Cardwell is as yet wholly unsettled—I am extremely glad you have not been here to see the worry for it would only have doubled it by reflection and by your sympathy—I have been obliged to tell him five or six times over that which no man ought ever to be required to say more than once. I have not a word to say against his temper or motives but the manner in which he beats about the bush and flinches from the point instead of taking plain words in their plain meaning is distressing to a degree, that I could perhaps have better borne when I was younger and fresher and had more strength to spend with fewer demands upon it. Happily for me Glyn is coming up and will I hope go between us and get him to what I must call his senses.

Such a contrast to Goschen! Not that Goschen was soft or easy nor did I wish him to be so but he told me at once he wd try, and wd let me know: and he did. . . .

Poor Lady Beaconsfield—I called to enquire to-day: the bulletin was that she was in a state of great prostration and the improvement of yesterday had not been maintained.

D. St. *Jan 25 73*

I attended the funeral of Lord Lytton² to-day in the Abbey which looked most solemn with the gas lights in a frost fog. Then I went up to learn about

¹ Army estimates.

² The novelist.

Milnes Gaskell who from an account Palgrave brought me is I fear dying—Garrard is puzzled and Paget is to be called in on Monday. I saw his son who told me he is sadly dwindled and very weak but quite ignorant of his state—I did not see him as the son thought it wiser he should be quiet until they know more.

Will *you* dine with Lord Mayor on March 26?

We get the most *superlative* Brittany butter for 20d. a lb. I saw it in a shop window.

11 C. H. T. 4 P.M. Mch 27 1873

I have just been to see Count Bernstorff,¹ in a perfect repose—all his family round him; and all as well as it can be—She asked if you would like to come—This I well knew—and promised to leave a line to be delivered to you immediately. They did not say to-morrow would be too late but they are fearful lest the look of blessed calm should pass away. She is always there and all the children.

11 C. H. T. June 9 1873

Business is heavy: but June is June, and July will I hope at its close see the Session die with it. I think it is likely that that may be my farewell to the Treasury Bench and possibly other Benches too. . . . We heard old Dean Hook² yesterday at the Chapel Royal. He is I am sorry to hear *very* old, of his years: and though he kindled manfully in the pulpit he had great difficulty in getting up the stairs to it. I have tried to get him to breakfast on Thursday. His sermon was very impressive & like that of a man ready to depart.

¹ He had died the day previously.

² Walter Farquhar Hook (1798–1875), Dean of Chichester.

BALMORAL Aug 20 1873

Before this reaches you you will have heard of the drenching rain and the proceedings¹ at Mold yesterday. Of which I will only say that I hope Stephen² did not think me too Cambrian. I think the Welsh have not been well used in other days. I feel that they ought to be honoured for their desire not to let their language or traditions die; this is one of the main things that ennoble man: but I endeavoured to speak up strongly for their learning and using the English language which is the instrument of their communion with mankind at large.

Very private

BALMORAL Aug 22 1873

The Queen had occasion to speak about the Crown Princess:³ lauded her talents, said she completely governed her husband, did not care a pin for her (the Queen's) opinion, used to care only for that of her father, and the Q. was very apprehensive of her extreme opinions in politics and 'extreme rationalistic views' in religion. The Q. seemed to think she believed hardly anything. I take it that she hears of this through the Empress.

Young Alamayo⁴ the son of King Theodore [of Abyssinia] came in the train from Perth and with me from Aberdeen—he is a nice boy, of very gentle manners, without much energy.

¹ The Eisteddfod.² Sir Stephen Glynne.³ The Princess Royal, afterwards Empress of Germany.⁴ Prince Alamayo (b. 1861) was brought to England in 1868 and educated at Rugby, after which he went to Sandhurst; d. 1879 and buried at Windsor.

BALMORAL, *Aug. 24 1873*

The P. & Princess Christian came yesterday. He is I think a good example of a self-improving German, always trying to learn. We dined last night with the Queen—Friday I had a long talk. Nothing can be better than her humour—she is going to Fort William on the 8th. I leave on Saturday but if I make my Highland walk it cannot be till Monday and all that week will probably be consumed in getting me home.

BALMORAL *Aug 25 1873*

This is my leisure day, of light posts, and I have been out for 6½ hours including 13 miles walk which (in this air) leaves me quite as fresh as when I began. . . . A rather flat sermon yesterday from a rather heavy though intelligent man. Lady Biddulph owned she did not much relish the Scotch service—Prince Leopold said, 'No: who could?' They like Alamayo who seems a very amiable boy. He wants to be a Highland gillie.

BALMORAL *Aug 30 1873*

I am just waiting to receive my London post and see the Queen before going. She has been in extremely good humour. I have dined the last three days running. She is indeed in great spirits. . . . We had our Council this morning and I was sworn in on re-appointment to the office of first Lord.

ON THE RAIL FROM PERTH. *Sep 2 1873*

It seems a long time since I wrote to you and having now returned to the habitable globe I take up

my pen on my journey to Carlisle and only hope you may find me legible. I was very kindly entertained at Invercauld. On Sunday we went to the Episcopal service at Mar Lodge, which was very pleasant to me. I must admit that afterwards we had a grand luncheon with Lord Fife. And that I found as his factor Mr. Clark, who remembered my being at Braemar for a week with John¹ 38 years ago, when he was a little lad son of the landlady. Yesterday morning we drove 15 miles on the road to the mountain pass which Stephen² crossed in 1839 parting from us as we went to Beirnamuich Dhu and through this I went with Mr. Pease and his brother walking 33 miles to Kingmuir. The pass was very fine indeed, but the road was the roughest, as to about 12 miles of it, that I ever walked in my life—much worse now from disuse than 30 years ago. When we got on the Spey or western side of the mountains the rain fell heavily, sometimes in torrents and I arrived at Kingmuir with one of the Pease brothers (the other coming by rail) wonderfully bedraggled. All the while I had a galled heel but it was saved from any great exasperation by cutting my shoe open. At Kingmuir we found a good Inn and had written for beds, but imagine my feelings when in the middle of the night I heard the *rats* gnawing at the wainscoat for an hour and then making into the room and keeping jubilee all over the carpet. I made furious noises to frighten them away and again when they came back anew.

On January 24th 1874 the public were startled to find in the newspapers an address from Gladstone to his constituents at Greenwich, announcing that Parliament was to be dissolved.

¹ His brother.

² Sir Stephen Glynne.

10 DOWNING ST. [23?] *Jan 1874*

You are admitted among the first of those outside the absolutely sacred circle to a knowledge of the great news which I have set out in a note to Willy.¹

He will think I am mad like Bp Thomson of Glo'ster announcing that he had become Abp Thomson of York.

My colleagues generally are pleased and in good spirits.

Dizzy's circular inviting the attention of his friends on the 5th of February appears in the *Globe* of to-day!

The new Parlt. will probably meet on the 5th of March. We must then be either better or worse. Either way I am content.

I have inserted in my address some words, looking towards freedom after the financial work shall have been accomplished.

We shall now fight the battle on the point on which we are in the public estimation strongest.

HAWARDEN *Ap 6. Easter M. 1874*

The anti-parliamentary reaction has been stronger with me even than I anticipated—I am as far as possible from feeling the want of the House of Commons. I could cheerfully go there to do a work but I hope and pray to be as little there as possible except for such an aim. In London I think we were too much hustled to speak leisurely or effectually of the future. It will open for us by degrees. . . . There is one thing I should like you to understand clearly as to my view of things, for it is an essential part of that view. I am convinced that the welfare of mankind does not now

¹ Printed in *Morley's Life*, Vol. II, p. 487.

depend on the State or the world of politics: the real battle is being fought in the world of thought, where a deadly attack is made with great tenacity of purpose and over a wide field upon the greatest treasure of mankind, the belief in God, and the Gospel of Christ.

HAWARDEN *Ap 27 1874*

You can hardly conceive how virtuous I feel. Harry and I both turned out at 6.15 this morning and at 6.30 I was cutting away at the unfinished ash, which fell with a mighty fall at 7.30, when back to shave, bathe, breakfast and church—What a good boy am I!

Sir Stephen Glynne, Mrs. Gladstone's brother, died suddenly on June 17th 1874. 'My brother-in-law,' wrote Gladstone at a later date, 'was a man of singular refinement and as 'remarkable modesty.' Sir Stephen Glynne was a learned antiquary and interested himself in the architecture and history of English churches.

HAWARDEN *June 17 1874*

It seems equally bad to write and not to write but on the whole I must not let the post to-morrow morning be a blank though I am heartwrung to think under what a blow this will find you struggling to hold upright and keep your trust in the Most High. I shall put it into a cover to Willy to be given to you *if*: alas that sad and terrible if, but after the indications of the telegram I have had from the Coroner of Middlesex I have practically no hope that it is not your dear, *our* dear Stephen, who has now made his last innocent pilgrimage to gather knowledge and pour love abroad.

And you the giver of consolation, the angel of mercy to all those who need you, will now stand in need yourself—and your need will be supplied by Him who only can.

6.10. A second telegram converts into news what before was moral certainty: it is a dark dark day.

21 CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE *Aug 1 1874*

Mr. Balfour breakfasted here. I really delight in him, neither more or less. I thought he rather lingered here, even when I was obliged to show signs of moving—that is all I can say. We were three only.

In 1874 Archbishop Tait introduced a Bill, finally enacted as the Public Worship Regulation Act, for suppressing ritualistic practices in the Church of England. The measure led to much litigation, clergymen were imprisoned, and so much scandal was caused that eventually the Act became a dead letter.

21 C. H. T. *Aug 4 74*

The position of affairs about the Archbishop's Bill is *black*. It is probable that to-day, in H. of L., with an incredible cowardice, and I think from unusual trickiness on the part of the Archbishop of Canterbury,¹ the two Archbishops will move either to accept Mr. Holt's amendment, or to patch it in some way perfectly unreal. If they do the Bp of Winchester² and others will resist, but will be beaten. Under these circumstances as that Amendment cuts at the root of the Episcopal Office, I have requested the Bp. of W. to inform the two Archbishops that if they carry it I hold

¹ Archibald Campbell Tait.

² Edward Harold Browne.

myself altogether discharged from maintaining any longer the Establishments of the Church. This may be in their estimation, and it may be in itself, a matter altogether insignificant. But I felt that equity and honesty required that they should know it. Upon my crippled future it may have a great effect.

The Bp of Winchester thanked me and was much delighted. I am not sure that the tricks of the Abp of C. may not ensnare him: but he is in intention honest and upright.

Selborne is strongly against the Amendment: but his daughter's marriage keeps him away to-day.

Dean Church and Dr Liddon have been to me. I told them everything freely. I did not however tell them what I now mention in *strict secrecy*. The Bp of W. said 'I will not now bind myself to anything but my leaning is to say that if you adopt in consequence of this Amendment the doctrine of Disestablishment of the Church, I shall do the same.' . . . I told the Bp however as well as the Dean and Canon, that I required nothing of anyone, that I see my way perfectly, and shall only be applying at short notice the conviction and intention of more than forty years.

But these are big matters, and you will not wonder that they lay upon the mind a load heavy to be borne.

H. OF C. *Aug 5 74*

I have had a *mauvais quart d'heure* for the last 48 hours or more but thank God it is over. We have had a three hours debate; a fair speech from Gurney, an able yet frantic tirade from Harcourt extremely bad in tone and taste and chiefly aimed at poor me: a speech from Dizzy politic and for the most part unobjectionable; and a reply from me to Harcourt,

chiefly on the personal part & the general character of his oration. I have really treated him with forbearance before, but I was obliged to let out a little to-day. But what is much better and more important is that the matter is well over.

MUNICH *Sept 12 1874*

But now I shall surprise you. I am going to be painted! There is here a very remarkable painter named Lenbach—about 40. He paints (I understand not for money) those to whom he takes a fancy and Mr Morier¹ has made him take a fancy to painting me. He has done a wonderful portrait of Moltke, and an excellent one of Döllinger, with one sitting and a few photographs first taken. I have been for the photographs to-day and am to sit on Monday and then it is over! I cannot understand this at all—If I could pay I would but as matters stand I hope there is nothing to disburse. Lenbach refused to go to the Crimea to paint the Emperor of Russia—was horribly bored at having to paint the Emperor of Austria—and is going to paint Bismarck. Here is a tale from fairy land!

11 C. H. T. *Nov 7 1874*

The pamphlet² is out and the reviews seem to have begun. It was carried through the Press with great rapidity. The MS left Hawarden Sunday night. Then it was three times over corrected in print: and copies went to Berlin Paris and Munich yesterday evening. You may judge what a work it has been.

¹ Sir Robert Morier (1826–1893), diplomatist.

² *The Vatican Decrees in their bearing on Civil Allegiance.*

Murray at once prints 4,000 copies. The step is grave but I am confident it is right.

HAWARDEN *Nov 12 1874*

Murray says the Pope's tirade is the best advertisement. . . . He observes that the Pope establishes his connection with St Peter the Fisherman by his acquaintance with the language of Billingsgate.

11 C. H. T. *Jan. 8 1875*

Bismarck has been distributing wholesale in Germany the translated Pamphlet. Newman is now very wrath and says my letter is *shocking*.

The 'grave matter' of the leadership, which Gladstone resigned in 1875, fills most of the next few letters. That Mrs. Gladstone was deeply stirred is shown by the following letter from her:

'January 8 1875

'I know full well your whole soul is bent upon doing right. 'You would go to the death in a righteous cause. Who could 'hold you when the battle-cry sounded? I expressed myself 'so badly in the hurry of parting—alas, it seemed to you I was 'going against you, and that my judgment was formed! Perhaps from the very fact of my longing to see you rest and to 'acquiesce in all your wishes, I felt it the greater duty to look 'well on all sides; and remember, there are those who can speak 'more frankly to me than to you, and who desire your honourable course of action. Is there not something to be said 'against your own point, which strengthens their argument in 'this shape? Great Church questions may arise when your 'power and influence would be valuable. Would you have

'the same power by a sudden rush to fight after *putting the reins upon others*? The party would naturally be at sea. Is there no 'medium course? What necessity would there be for constant 'attendance? Who would expect it? Could you not take it 'quite easily? Would not the patience and calmness and 'modesty of your attitude speak, not only to the House of 'Commons, but to the whole country? No doubt there is a 'feeling that you only care about *figh*ts now—that would take 'away this idea: to see you so patient, so good, sacrificing your 'own wishes and only helping others, accepting the position 'and meeting it. May it not be right? Is not the position, so 'to speak, forced upon you? If you had any organic illness 'which made it wrong for you to expose your precious life, it 'would be different. Dr. Clark spoke to me last year quite in an 'opposite sense. These little ailments are just safety valves. 'Some have giddiness in the head, or palpitations of the heart, 'and no warning but the danger; in your ailment, you have 'time to pull up and get right. You say if you take the lead 'you are there for ever. Why, who would say a word against 'your giving up, if health really demanded it? I was saying to 'Edward Talbot how you yearned for rest from strife, and I 'suggested Hartington as leader. He said: "I, at all events, ' "am a fair and impartial person as to politics, and knowing ' "how Mr. G. might have to do things for conciliation that I ' "might disapprove, I still feel his importance to the country ' "as leader so strongly that I hope he will not shrink." He 'thought many people would explain your resigning as a 'religious mania, and that this would undermine your influence 'whilst by proving you can calmly attend to political business 'in Opposition you would double your influence when needed.

'I hope I have not troubled you with my twaddle. At all 'events you may feel that I write with the one object that you 'may be guided aright to the glory of God and the good of your 'fellow creatures. That your acquiescing would be unselfish 'to the highest degree—I know that well. At all events, you 'will forgive me. Do not write about it till you have seen Lord 'Granville again: it only takes out of you, which is the last 'thing I wish.'

11 C. H. T. *Jan 11 1875*

Now for the grave matter about the leadership. I have had much conversation with Granville and Cardwell and I am going to see Hartington—also Goschen to-morrow. My letter is rewritten and improved but I am only obliged to stand to my conclusion, for many reasons. Among them the Church reason is one of the most serious and the other the undefined and prolonged character of the service if now undertaken. This while arguing and deprecating they admit to a great extent. Our old colleagues are invited to come up on Thursday if they can and this will be rather to hear than to debate. Hartington will succeed. I am indeed sorry that you and I have not been able to take the same view of this important subject but you know that I am acting on convictions very long entertained and will I am sure believe that I have probed myself deeply and used all the means in my power to get at a right conclusion. Nay I think that you will be more reconciled when I tell you that Granville did not really see his way either to a nominal leadership or to making any arrangement by which I could after a short time with some certainty have escaped.

To this Mrs. Gladstone replied :

'January 12 1875

'First, it is a great deal too much to say that you and I take 'different views of this important question of the leadership. 'It could not be so, as I had by no means made up my own 'mind. But I did consider it my duty to lay before you the 'drawbacks; and that you should receive from me the un-'biased opinion of what might be thought, and so weigh the 'matter. Perhaps I am too sensitive in the feelings of anything

'like running away, when the road is dark and hopeless. I 'believe (though perhaps I should fail) that I have looked upon 'your career very much as that of a general in a dangerous 'battle, whether winning or losing. However, my poor 'opinion is so little worth having, perhaps I need not have said 'anything; but I like you to know that we do not really differ, 'more than from the great desire, the trembling desire, you 'should do right; and thus I wished to act as a kind of drag on 'so important a step. God will bless and help you as He has 'done in mighty decisions, and be what it may, I am content.'

II C. H. T. *Jan 12 1875*

I find that the agreement made yesterday that I should meet my former colleagues on Thursday will require me to remain until this day though after a pretty busy morning the pressure is less. I have however to preside in the evening at the meeting of the Metaphysical Society and to listen though I hope nothing more to a tough discussion. Manning I am sorry to say will be there. His pamphlet is at length going to press and will extend he says to 150 pages. Newman is not out yet.

There has been some indiscretion about my article¹ in the Q.R. and the secret got into Hayward's mouth. I begged Murray to stop him if possible.

A curious thing happened last night. Levy² of the D. Telegraph, one of the most acute men connected with the press, came to see me and with apologies launched out into a statement of his own as to my personal position. It was to the effect that the present state and subjects of politics afforded me no field of occupation in any kind of proportion to the former career, that I clearly ought to leave the leadership to

¹ 'Speeches of Pope Pius IX,' *Quarterly Review*, January 1875.

² Joseph Moses Levy (1812-1888), founder of the *Daily Telegraph*.

others, maintain my seat as an independent member and be ready to come out again upon the arrival of any worthy occasion. I told him that up to a certain point my own personal thoughts had run in the same groove as his but did not say what had or would be decided. He estimated at their proper value—a very small one—the declarations of members that I am the only man to lead them, &c. I have seen Hartington this morning who I think will pluck up his courage.

42 PORTLAND PLACE *Jan 13 75*

George¹ tells me that an Address is in course of signature requesting me to retain the lead—The ordeal is, taken altogether, a tremendous one from reiterated & heavy pressure but I see my way quite clearly as yet. Your simile of a General is very natural. But it tells rather my way. A general is working for a victory or a peace. I am not asked to work for either but to carry on for years longer a work which is in its nature perpetual & which must when I disappear be taken up by another. . . .

Cadorna, the Italian Minister, who is going to be Pres. of Council in Italy, is writing a pamphlet on Vaticanism. He is altogether in my sense and I think may do much good from the description he gave me of the contents. An application is come for leave to translate the pamphlet into Hungarian.

11 C. H. T. *Jan 14 1875*

The great affair is nearly arranged—My old colleagues all submit, under protest; and I shall be

¹ Lord Lyttelton.

free. An article in the Times this morning is undisguisedly aimed at getting rid of me: but it does not express any of their feelings. We have had a meeting at Granville's: Halifax—Granville—Cardwell—Hartington—Aberdare—Forster—Carlingford—Stansfeld—Selborne—Goschen—Lowe—Kimberley—in short all I think except Argyll and Bright. My letter to Granville will be accompanied by a short reply from him expressing difference of opinion and regret. They are afraid of being blamed by the party if they seem to show indifference.

HAWARDEN Feb 4 75

I have now finished reading the *twentieth* reply to my pamphlet.¹ They cover 1000 pages. And I am hard at work preparing mine,² with a good conscience, & I think a good argument. Manning has been I think as civil as he could.

You see all has been well and quietly managed about the Leadership. By Granville's desire I wrote letters of advice to Hartington: also to Adam³ for the *generality*. I am so glad that it is well over: & I never felt more sure a thing was right.

HAWARDEN Feb 6 1875

On Monday I hope to finish my 'Rejoinder' and bid farewell to a painful though useful controversy.

Manning in his 200 pages does not, I venture to say, make a single point against me. But I shall have to show up his quotations very seriously. We have exchanged one or two friendly notes.

¹ *Vatican Decrees, ante.*

² *Vaticanism.*

³ William Patrick Adam (1823–1881), Liberal whip.

H. OF C. *Feb 16 1875*

I came down to the House and took my seat nearly in the same spot as last year, finding Bright my neighbour, with which I was very well pleased. Granville and Hartington both much preferred my continuing on the Front Bench to my going elsewhere.

Granville quite agrees as to the enormity of Reeve's offence against the Queen.

The publication of the first series of the *Greville Memoirs*, under the editorship of Henry Reeve, met with the strong disapproval of Queen Victoria, who, in a letter to Sir (then Mr.) Theodore Martin, wrote in October 1874 of the '*dreadful indiscretion and DISGRACEFULLY bad taste* of Mr. Reeve in 'publishing Mr. C. Greville's scurrilous journal without 'eliminating what is very offensive and most disloyal towards 'the Sovereign he served. . . .'¹ Lord Winchelsea wrote:

For fifty years he listened at the door,
He heard some secrets and invented more.
These he wrote down, and women, statesmen, kings
Became degraded into common things.
They hide the smart, and say 'tis only Greville,
But wish him and his journal at the Devil.

11 C. H. T. *Feb 17 1875*

The new pamphlet² will strike home more than the other but I should think will not have the tenth part of the sale.

Cardinal Cullen has, I think in a christian spirit, brought me into his Lenten Pastoral, and desires his people to pray for me—that I may become sensible of the wrong I have done the Pope and the Church.

¹ *Letters of Queen Victoria* (Second Series), Vol. II, p. 354.

² *Vaticanism*.

11 C. H. T. *Feb 19 1875*

Yesterday I was prevented from writing to you by a debate in the H. of Commons on rather a nice matter.¹ I did not speak for I should probably have done more harm than good but I was required to attend and it lasted until past eight. Hartington took a course which I believe was reasonable in its substance and approved by Selborne. But when we came to the Division lots of his men either went away or voted against him, and showed that all the old taint of indiscipline and spurious independence is still rife among them. I was very greatly disquieted on his behalf.

The troubles of my pamphlet are upon me and an immense correspondence, at least an immense number of letters come to me and accumulate unanswered.

11 C. H. T. *Feb 20 1875*

On coming down I found my proof sheets come back from Munich with the remainder of Dr. D[öllinger]'s criticisms—a part having come before. He thinks highly of the work which he observes will cut deeper than the former one and be more difficult to deal with.

I am now waiting for the very last revises and when I have sent off the presentation copies I shall have done. It is to be translated into German. Murray prints 10,000 copies.

11 C. H. T. *Feb 22 1875*

The Govt have this evening proposed an extremely bad Bill for allowing payments to be made in

¹ On the issue of a new writ for Tipperary where John Mitchel, a convicted felon, had been elected for Parliament.

Regimental Exchanges. Trevelyan has made an admirable speech in moving its rejection, and the measure has infused some spirit into the Liberal ranks so that perhaps there will be some real fighting.

As to the Mitchel question the Govt I think were wrong in not granting a Committee to make the ground quite secure for the House. *If* any difficulty should arise they will be much blamed. The fact that doubts were entertained by lawyers of position was quite enough to show the prudence of enquiry.

I went again to the 10 a.m. Chapel Royal yesterday and I am gradually striking up a friendship with Lady Derby with whom, she showing the disposition, I walk away—I like her.

I went to the Levee to-day—the Prince looked very bright and well pleased with the world and himself, and enquired after you.

11 C. H. T. *Feb 23 1875*

The division last night was bad—several Liberal defections—The class interest is so fearfully strong in the case of the army. Lorne voted against us: he is about the worst specimen of a Liberal (not to be a rogue) whom I have ever known.

HATFIELD *Feb 28 1875*

I do not wonder that you feel parting from the house will be a blow and a pang—It is nothing less than these to me, but it must be faced, and you will face it gallantly. So much has occurred there: and then it is leaving not the house only but the neighbourhood, where I have been with you for more than 35 years, and altogether nearly 40. The truth is that innocently

and from special causes we have on the whole been housed better than according to our circumstances. All along Carlton H. Terrace I think you would not find anyone with less than £20,000 a year, and most of them with much more.

CLUMBER, *May 12 75*

It is most mournful, and strange that we should be here, thus installed, and the family for every social purpose dead.

The saddest of all is the Chapel. A very fine and costly structure had been raised and roofed before the smash—and the Duke's¹ defalcations & payment of 5/6 in the pound ruined the contractor!

Some parts of the stonework were imperfect, & there has been cracking. It is unfinished within & desolate & the birds fly about it at their will. The place seems to be carefully kept up, and everything ready for residence, which makes it all the sadder, a huge mournful solitude.

HAWARDEN *May 17 1875*

Again in the old room, at the old table, among the old brown hollands, I sit down to write to you some lines, after spending the hours since I came in the middle of the day in opening the multitude of letters and papers which I found waiting. It is evident that I have not yet half retired.

HAWARDEN *May 19 1875*

I am feeling as it were my way towards the purposes of the rest of my life—It will I dare say clear by

¹ Duke of Newcastle. Gladstone was a trustee of the Newcastle estate.

degrees. For the general business of the country my ideas and temper are thoroughly out of harmony with the ideas and temper of the day, especially as they are represented in London—There could not be a stronger proof of it than the way in which the London Press has taken our financial discussions. In this subject I am generally thought to have some authority, and all the financial men of the late Govt cordially agreed—but hardly anybody else seems to agree with us—and I must take care not to draw old friends into any scrape or expose their credit needlessly to unjust criticism.

HAWARDEN *Sep 26 1875*

Helen¹ in her letter reminded me of what was vaguely floating in my mind but I could not clearly recall it—that the 23rd was the day of my Mother's death, in 1835.

Six times, and six only if my memory serves me right, I have stood beside the bed of death: and never yet have I seen one die without much of pain and struggle. It is a tremendous thing to die, from the laceration and violence done to nature, however sure one may feel that the Divine mercy and goodness which have been all sufficient *here* will suffice *there* also.

OAKLEY PARK, *Oct 3 75*

Old Lord Bathurst² is astonishing. Six full hours he spent driving and on foot with me yesterday, such is his courtesy—and at near midnight he was sitting

¹ Gladstone's sister, Helen Jane Gladstone, *d.* 1880.

² 'Every one who went about London in the seventies will remember the dyed locks and crimson velvet waistcoat of William, fifth Earl Bathurst.' *Collections and Recollections*, by G. W. E. Russell.

fresh as a lark to watch a party playing whist. Charles¹ has an excellent character here and is thought a break.² Two Miss Ponsonbys, great Churchwomen, sisters of General P, nieces of Lord B, one especially a tremendous Disraelite, good and kind, not too much head piece, says Dizzy is a mere Protestant, Bennett the greatest saint on earth. The Church is well-ordered, with daily service. Such is the liberal use of the place given to the people of the town, that it really seems as if Lord B. kept it for them.

The sensation caused by the publication in 1876 of Gladstone's famous pamphlet³ on the Bulgarian atrocities was profound, and the printers were hard put to it to meet the demand. Some forty thousand copies were sold within three days of its publication, and before a month had gone by it had been translated into various European languages. In a scrap of autobiography written by Gladstone twenty years later, he describes how the woes of the unfortunate Bulgarians had weighed upon his mind and, 'so I wrote and published on the 'Bulgarian cases. It was with some difficulty on account of 'lumbago which made my body creak as I tried to write, but 'at length I performed the task in bed with pillow props. . . . 'From that time forward until the final consummation in '1879-80 I made the Eastern Question the main business of 'my life.'

UNIV. CLUB *Sep 4 1876*

All well—arrived late but in bed at 5.25 and up at nine. . . . Delane to dine to-night, five hours at the Museum, good progress, hope to send all to the Printer before dinner: *possibly* I may be able to send

¹ Lord Cobham.

² 'Any event or circumstance that tends to break the monotony of existence,' *Glynnese Glossary*.

³ *The Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East*.

you a copy on Wed (you *have* some proof sheets at Hawarden you can read but do not part with them). Granville quite cheery, talks of our going to the play to-morrow.

LONDON *Sep 6 1876*

All goes on well—I sent off the revises for *press* before one—and they expect to publish to-morrow. Granville's criticisms have been very judicious and useful upon particular forms of expression. He has read everything and says the case is *tremendous*. . . . We had an interesting little party last night at Granville's. I had a long talk with Delane—We, he and I, are much of one mind in thinking the Turks must go out of Bulgaria though retaining a titular supremacy if they like—between ourselves Granville a little hangs back from this, but he could not persuade me to hold it back.

There is only one draw-back—the Greenwich people have stupidly or perhaps from necessity fixed Saturday instead of Thursday to which I tied them up—I groan over being kept here but there is no choice.

18 C. H. T.¹ *Sep 6 1876*

I wrote to you yesterday. After finishing I felt like a man who puffs a little, rubs his hands, looks about him, and uses other small means prompted by nature for letting himself down from a strain of rather high excitement and hard work. Now I may keep myself tolerably quiet until the Greenwich meeting, and that will not be an effort at all comparable to those three days in bed, and to the business of revision. The arrangements for the Greenwich meeting are to be

¹ Lord Granville's house.

made to-night. . . . All my day thus far has been occupied in interviews and matter about the pamphlet, meetings, and Turkey.

Clowes printed 2,000 and they are *out* to-day before people knew or expected it—There will be notices in the papers to-morrow—Smith sent this morning for a thousand for the Station. The small edition will be out to-morrow. I told you Granville’s very strong feeling and expressions on reading the sheets—Hardly anyone I think is aware how strong the case is on the Fleet at Besika Bay, and the fencing answers about Bulgaria.

I rather expect the Greenwich meeting will be an immense affair.

18 C. H. T. *Sep 7 1876*

In the first place let me tell you the bed-ridden pamphlet is all alive. The people were taken aback by its early appearance, the papers having given the idea it would be some 48 hours later, so no one was prepared. To-day Murrays have plastered a notice on their door to save answers that the Reprint will be ready this afternoon. The stir began yesterday afternoon when the evening papers had parts of it, and some placarded it so that I saw myself at the selling places in walking. The printing now stands—

8vo. First print	2,000	12mo.	5,000
Second	2,000		10,000
Third	5,000		

But, having got so far, it cannot stop there. . . .

Will Granville go¹ I wonder. If he does it will be a proof that his mind is moving on and that he sees more ripeness in the time. For you must understand

¹ To Greenwich.

that he argued for my asking *less* than the entire principle of self-government in Bulgaria: and the Times hesitates about it. However all the papers recognise the pamphlet as a fact in the case.

HAWARDEN *Jan 3 1877*

It looks as if a firm stand were being made at Constantinople, and Salisbury (for the second time, the first in 1867) proving his manhood.

HAWARDEN *Jan 4 1877*

Upon the whole I rather expect that the Turks will some way or other have wriggled out to-day at Constantinople: but thank God that so far the Powers have stood together.

It would not surprise me if Dizzy were working underground against Lord Salisbury.

HAWARDEN *Jan 5 1877*

The telegrams from the East are really indescribable. As to the Turks they have long lost all dignity in their proceedings, and even all decency. But the dignity of the Powers is in great danger if they come to wobble about this way and that. They ought not (except as to mere details) to have asked what they did not mean to insist upon.

[STAYING WITH SIR JOHN LUBBOCK], *March 11. 77*

Everybody extremely kind here and a Lubbock party went to Church but not the guests—who were

Prof. Huxley, Mr. L. Playfair, Mr. Morley (Fortnightly Review). . . .

The ants are most curious and interesting, but require good and young eyes to do them full justice.

HAWARDEN *Jan 2 1878*

You rate your own knowledge low but it is as good as any one else's. To appear as Turkey's messenger to Russia was little less than ridiculous, and probably covered a plot on the part of Beaconsfield to get the country irritated by the refusal: in which plot I hope as in others he may fail.

HAWARDEN *Jan 11 1878*

The late proceedings of the Russian army have been masterly in generalship and splendid in pluck and patience, and the capture of the Shipka Army is perhaps as heavy a blow as any the Turks have yet received. The prospects of peace, still uncertain, have advanced with a rapidity beyond all hope.

HAWARDEN *Jan 12 1878*

The Shipka news is indeed great and brings peace visibly much nearer—God be praised. I am astonished at the Duke of Sutherland. He must have lost his head, which is not so very much, and his temper which I had supposed to be very good. My *present* intention is to say nothing—If I say anything I shall take care not to go into conflict with his mother's son.

But the Duke of Westminster, a noble soul, is very

indignant, and I have a letter to say he will be over here before twelve on the subject. MacColl¹ thinks the Govt will propose to take Crete—that would be very bad.

HAWARDEN *Jan 14 1878*

I shall be short for the pressure of time is great, partly because this visit is so successful and I am sorry you have missed it. Ruskin is very genial with everybody and is in love with Lord Acton. Mr. Holland² too is very good. . . . R. and Ld. A. go to-morrow. R. has been in dread of sore throat and has in consequence seen woefully little. Only out once yesterday not at all to-day. Whole seas of talk, and good talk . . .

I thought I had told you the Duke of Westminster came over on Saturday very indignant; he was to write, I doubt not he has written, a private letter of remonstrance.

I am sorry on the Duke of Sutherland's account. To me it is only a little more calumny or a little less. And then I get so much praise that I do not deserve.

LYSWAYS, RUGELEY. *Ap 16. 78*

Here I am, kindly and hospitably received, after the funeral, which was in a great degree worthy of the noble Bishop.³ There was a vast crowd of all classes, filling the cathedral well, with over 450 Clergy in their surplices. A good choir—I inclose the form and order of service. The first hymn was sung more than once over, so as to cover the whole rather long route from the Church to the grave. . . .

¹ Canon Malcolm MacColl (1831-1907).

² Canon Scott Holland.

³ G. A. Selwyn, Bishop of Lichfield.

I must tell you that in his delirium he cried repeatedly 'I am growing idle, getting idle: who is looking after that work?' How grand in his decay and death, as in his life.

73 H[ARLEY] ST. *May 31 1878*

This afternoon has been a destructive one—two members of Parliament have died, neither of them much known to you—Mr. Russell Gurney,¹ greatly respected; and Mr. Wykeham Martin² who dropped down in the Library and died in a few minutes. The House, which I had not reached, adjourned thereupon.

There is also this sad loss of the great German ironclad off Dungeness with lives variously stated at 300 to 500.

73 H. ST. *June 2 1878*

The sitting with Watts came off yesterday—four hard hours from 12 to 4! and he would have liked to have had more. This tremendous length is surely a vice with English painters. He seems pleased with his work but would not show it. . . .

To-day the story is that Beaconsfield and Salisbury go to the Conference to represent England—Bad if true.

73 H. ST. *June 3 1878*

I have not been at the House but I learn that Northcote announced the Congress and the intention to send Beaconsfield and Salisbury to represent us—a strange scheme worse than sending B. alone³ as

¹ Recorder of London and M.P. ² M.P. for Newport, Isle of Wight.

regards the general business of the country but better as regards the purposes for which the Congress is summoned. Let us be thankful it is actually to meet.

The attempt to assassinate the German Emperor is truly horrible—as is its partial success.

ROSENEATH *June 4 1878*

When I wrote to you last night I was not aware that Mr. Hanbury had given notice of a vote of censure upon me for my article about the Indian troops in the N[ineteenth] C[entury]¹ as a seditious writing. I only heard of it from C. Howard in the train. It surprised more than it alarmed me. I cannot conceive it will have any serious upshot, and I not unnaturally think it an impudent proceeding though I have not had an opportunity of referring to the article to see what it is that he can have laid hold of.

SPARKEN, WORKSOP. *Ap 14. 79*

In Manchester there gradually gathered folks who gave me a cheer, and the Railway most kindly offered me a Saloon. I reached Worksop, through Willy's good directions, at 6.45. I now write early before setting out on the day's work and I have not yet seen poor Clumber. . . .

In the evening I went to the fine old Church. Here is a true marvel. A noble congregation, large choir, stirring service, and excellent Sermon from a *drinking* Vicar who has had *delirium tremens*!!

¹ 'Liberty in the East and West,' *Nineteenth Century*, June 1878.

SPARKEN, WORKSOP, NOTTS. *Ap. 15. 79*

The sight at Clumber is a woeful one but it is not so conspicuous on approaching the house because the fire was in the heart of it: but the outer wall which formed the hall front is unsafe and will have to be broken down. Great energy must have been used in fighting with the fire—for in the small drawing-room and in the great dining room it fought to get in and actually burned away a corner at the entrance but was beaten back. Then there is beautiful Sevres porcelain partly fused into glass. Upon the whole I think less of the valuables are destroyed than I expected but the house will be a 'big job'. . . .

I am astonished at the careful manner in which books pictures and the like were moved in the confusion. Unfortunately the papers were the most roughly treated and thrown about everywhere. I do not think I had done *less* than twelve long 10 or 11 hour days of hard work upon them, and this is pretty well gone, as indeed I fear are the most interesting parts of the papers to a great extent.

SPARKEN, WORKSOP, NOTTS. and NEWARK *Ap. 16. 79*

We went again to Clumber yesterday. The young Duke is expected next week. The condition of the papers, on which I had spent so much labour, besides Willy's and De Tabley's, is deplorable—the saved bundles where they were tied with tape all undone—Any one attempting to go through them would have I should think not less than thirty thousand separate *pieces* to handle—almost all of them more or less charred. Among them *probably* are the letters of the Queen, Prince Consort, and other Royalties. It is

not possible for me to take these papers again in hand and the question is whether to employ some one for the purpose or to destroy the whole mass. . . .

I proceed with my letter from the Clinton Arms sitting in the room where we used to have our daily Election dinners, close by the window where a man nearly killed me with a stone when I was speaking from it forty seven years ago,¹ and in sight of the noble spire on the other side of the market-place.

The visit to Lord Stratford de Redcliffe which is described in the next two letters, was referred to by Gladstone more than seventeen years later when making the last entry in his diary. 'Old age,' he wrote, 'is appointed for the gradual 'loosening and succeeding snapping of the threads. I visited 'Lord Stratford when he was, say 90 or 91, or thereabouts. 'He said to me, "It is not a blessing".'

FRANT COURT, TUNBRIDGE WELLS. *June 7. 79*

I quitted Holmbury between twelve and one with many regrets, getting here by Redhill and Tunbridge soon after four. The country from Tunbridge is one of the choicest tracts of purely rural English scenery I ever saw and I do not wonder that they were captivated with it. They are 600 feet above the sea, and look down into Lord Abergavenny's Park, which is admirably accidenté. Lady S. is better than I had expected and gets down stairs. As to him,² he is wonderful. I cannot detect any change in him except that he is slightly deaf, and that his countenance is by a shade or half-degree paler than when I saw him last. Voice, manner, movement (limited, of course, as it was before) are the same: the mind quite fresh:

¹ *v.* p. 27.

² Lord Stratford de Redcliffe.

he writes a good deal, reads largely, recollects perfectly being sent to a boarding school kept by a lady when he was $3\frac{1}{2}$ years old.

HARLEY ST. *June 9. 79*

I left that marvellous old gentleman (in his *93rd* year) this morning at eleven. He remembers me! at Mr Canning's Election when I was *two* years old—longer than any other living creature except my Brother, it being 67 years ago. His memory is perfect, except that now and then he is a little confused in conversation: sight perfect, hearing almost perfect; and there is really the promise of some more years of life.

HAWARDEN *Nov 5 1879*

Messrs Cassell the publishers have sent to *you* a big biography of me in two volumes¹—very good type. I do not expect that I shall read it. . . .

On reflection I think it will probably be necessary for me to decline all visits to Scotland as they would lead to speechifying.

10 DOWNING STREET, *Sept 30. 80*

The Cabinet after long sitting has dispersed. I am afraid Granville will not let me go, and if he will not, he is to propose us jointly at Holmbury for Sunday. This is not pleasant but I cannot say it is unreasonable as it is necessary that I should be a party to these difficult affairs at every turn. . . .

It now stands that by Sunday at latest the Sultan

¹ By George Barnett Smith.

is to announce an arrangement which he thinks will be satisfactory. The question is whether he is effectually frightened, or whether this is a new dodge.

The Cabinet was in very good disposition and there was no sign of practical divergence. H.M.'s opinions are all abroad but it will be difficult for her to bring them to bear against our policy. She is for high-handed dealing in S. Africa and in Afghanistan, but for the utmost gentleness to the Turks.

10 DOWNING STREET *Oct 2 1880*

Yesterday I went in the evening to a remote theatre to see Mr. C. Warner in *Othello*. He was the man of whom Coquelin said that he was the greatest actor alive, or one of the greatest. And I am not much surprised at the panegyric—his power is real and extraordinary. Granville is determined to go to hear him on Monday night.

We have very anxious conferences about the East. It is happy that he is so delightful a man to work with. There cannot be a more absolute harmony. Our consideration is all upon the form—as to the substance we are I may say always agreed.

'A memorandum of proceedings in 1880 with relation to the 'unfulfilled covenants of the Treaty of Berlin', written by Gladstone after his retirement, gives an interesting account of the happenings which are referred to below. The document itself is too long for quotation in full, but the salient points may be given. After a prefatory note about the 'very important 'and yet more singular transaction which occurred in the early 'period of the Ministry of 1880-5', Gladstone proceeds to particulars. 'At the close of the session of 1880,' he writes, 'the Ministry went to work with the view of giving effect to

'those unfulfilled portions of the Treaty of Berlin which had 'relation to Montenegro and to Greece. Those stipulations 'were positive in the case of Montenegro; as regarded Greece 'they were less definite, but they absolutely implied a cession 'of more or less territory by the Porte. They had been fully 'adopted by Lord Salisbury as the ground of his correspon- 'dence. . . .'

'Our decision was to proceed in accordance with the other 'signatory Powers or what is called the Concert of Europe. 'We proposed and obtained a demonstration on behalf of 'Montenegro. . . . Each of the great Powers sent a ship of 'war. This had no sooner been done than the demonstration 'was converted into a farce; Austria and Germany made it 'known that under no circumstances would they give a shot— 'I think that substantially, but less prominently, France took 'the same course. . . . Our intentions however were serious 'and we were not deterred from pursuing them. . . .

'The resources of honour and persuasion having been 'exhausted nothing remained in order to overcome the 'obduracy of the Turk except force.' Gladstone then goes on to tell how, the Sultan having refused to fulfil the engagements taken at Berlin, a threat to occupy Smyrna was made, and the Porte gave way. 'Granville and I learned from Goschen that 'the Sultan had heard of our proposal to the Powers, and 'apparently he had not heard of the refusals. . . . The whole 'of this extraordinary volte-face had been affected within six 'days and was due, not to a threat of coercion from Europe, but 'to the knowledge that Great Britain had asked Europe to 'coerce. . . .'

Most secret.

10 DOWNING STREET Oct 4 1880 6½ p.m.

Don't expect me to-morrow unless you hear more. The Turkish delay kills my chance. The answer is only now come, and I cannot leave Granville alone.

The answer is quite unsatisfactory—and G. and I,

sufficiently aware of the concurrence of our colleagues, are going to telegraph to each of the Powers to-night proposing that the united fleet now at Cattaro shall straightway sail and lay hold of Smyrna. This you will see is most important—in fact the kernel and crisis of the question. Probably we shall get answers in the course of to-morrow. . . . God prosper the good, the true, the right!

10, DOWNING STREET, Oct 5. 80

Of course we (G[ranville] and I) are waiting anxiously the effect of the shot fired last night. It is not unlikely we may know to-morrow. If *all* the answers are affirmative and final I might possibly get away. It is more likely however, even if we succeed generally, that there may be here and there a stitch to take up. The matter is really a great one and I ought not to grudge the inconvenience. The *first indications*, i.e. what is gathered from the Ambassadors here, are not unfavourable.

10 DOWNING STREET Oct 6 1880

I close my letter at seven—and we are still waiting as to three of the Powers—Germany, Austria and France. Italy and Russia have agreed—It is impossible to say whether the others will. But there is no reason to suppose that they will disapprove.

10 DOWNING STREET Oct 7 1880

As to the great matter, the delay is most tantalising. To-day which we had reckoned upon with

confidence has brought us absolutely nothing. While we had the answers of two Powers on Wednesday early, we have not the other three Thursday late. But the Austrian Chargé is of opinion his Govt will agree. If so the thing will go forward like a house o' fire. In some shape it will probably go forward any how.

10 D. ST. *Oct 8 1880*

As to the Smyrna question we live in a state of perpetual tension and so far as time is concerned of great and increasing vexation. Austria and France are still pottering (for Bismarck whatever he would do would never do this) and boggling at matter and cannot yet say aye or no. We are ready to go on at a moment's notice but are powerless until we get their answers; not that they will probably stop us, but that they will affect the terms of our action in the more limited concert. Meanwhile I am sorry to say the secret seems to have oozed out at Constantinople.

10 D. ST. *Oct 9 1880*

In no sense, except the Clarkian, is this a good day. Austria shabbily approves but declines to go with us. Germany will say the same. France the same or a little worse—Granville has sent to enquire whether Austria means that we should act as the mandatories of Europe, the others being responsible even if not co-operating. It has been necessary to summon the Cabinet for Monday which will consider the situation—Irish intelligence too is disagreeable.

10 D. ST. *Oct 10 1880*

A large sheet for a good day, and good news. Indeed the news is too good to come out quite true—It is that the Sultan, learning yesterday from Paris that we had proposed to the Powers to seize upon Smyrna, determined to give in!

Praise to the Highest in the height,
And in the depth be praise:
In all His works most wonderful,
Most sure in all His ways.

More exactly it stands thus. Last night the Turkish Foreign Minister and his Under Secretary called on the Foreign Ambassadors at Constantinople to tell them that they had better accounts from Albania (imposture) and that the Turks would not merely evacuate but cede, hand over, to the Montenegrins, Dulcigno immediately. To-day they were to have a regular Council and put this announcement into form.

In consequence of this intelligence—though the Sultan may again bolt—Granville and I have put off the Cabinet which we had fixed for to-morrow. . . . I do not recollect an instance in which the Providence of God has been more manifest. Had the Sultan known that, at the moment when his Ministers thus went round, Austria Germany and France had all refused to go with us! it might again have changed his mind. I do not say it would: most probably, though not certainly, we should still have gone.

There is not time to tell you in how many ways this will be a good and a great good. Six months ago the question of the Montenegrin frontier was a small one. The proceedings of the intervening time have made it a large one. It is the working of the European Concert

for purposes of justice peace and liberty, with efficiency and success, which is the great matter at issue. That has always been the ideal of my life in Foreign Policy: and if this goes forward rightly to the end it will be the most conspicuous instance yet recorded, the best case of success achieved.

It is a descent from this level to speak of the great advantage to the Government from the prosperous management of a business of this kind. It is a more generous subject of satisfaction that the Montenegrins should get without a drop of blood shed the land to which they are entitled by the Treaty of Berlin.

To this Mrs. Gladstone replied, 'After being in bed with 'this tiresome throat, "joy did come in the morning". Oh, 'your large sheet and its contents and Hymn of Praise! For 'His power has wrought wonders.

'We praise Thee and will praise Thee,
'We bless Thee and will bless,
'We give thanks to Thee and will give thanks.'

'And you, dearest own, who have mercifully been permitted 'to take part in such mighty operations! What shall I say? 'It is almost too much to think of this consummation. The ' "ideal of your life" in foreign policy, God only grant it may 'be all right and no more bolting. But if he [the Sultan] does 'bolt on learning more as to the cowardly Powers, my hope 'even then is that the Powers may have had the warning from 'the Sultan's white feather, and join issue at once. You see I 'am arming myself for contingencies. We shall be all ready for 'you to-morrow.

'The Flowers¹ came to hand yesterday in time for a lovely 'glow of sunshine which lighted up garden and Castle and 'all. They are very light in hand and easily pleased, but

¹ Afterwards Lord and Lady Battersea.

'disappointed that you are away. I have been silent and dull 'until you open my lips as to Smyrna and Ireland, for though 'the paper has it, of course, that is different from my confirmation! The Flowers are very large-hearted people, full 'of good deeds, coffee-houses, hospitals, etc.'

10 D. ST. Oct 11 1880

Again we are in a day of darkness and doubt. The decision which was promised for *yesterday* and which should have been with us last night or this morning has not come when I write at half past six in the evening. This suggests that the Sultan, who is nothing more or less than in plain terms a lying scoundrel, got wind of the Austrian or more probably the French dissent, and thereupon took to his tricks again. So we are kept in a state of suspense almost incredible. About three I recommended Gr[anville] to telegraph to Goschen¹ 'Press for the answer—We cannot have more delay'. If the Turk again breaks his word, will the Powers stand this insult? Our condition must in any case be improved. In no case can we lose the *whole* benefit of the incident of Saturday. *It demonstrates the power of a real concert believed to exist.* And makes it more difficult for the shabbier Powers not to join us or give us countenance which is aid of a certain kind—One way or another I believe the Almighty will work it out. . . . The prosecution² in Ireland is to go on—H.M. delighted.

H. OF C. June 17 1881

We are ploughing onwards, but slowly and heavily, through the Land Bill; mean time it is very

¹ Then on a special mission to Turkey.

² Parnell and four other Irish members were indicted for conspiracy.

pleasant to get a cessation of the grind from seven o'clock to-day until Monday afternoon.

To-morrow we have no Cabinet and I hope to get to Windsor in good time.

We were much interested in the performance of Othello and I went behind the scenes to see Booth and Irving who took it as a compliment. Tea was sent us with great civility.

10 DOWNING STREET *July 23 1881*

At half past one we actually closed (after 32 days work) the Committee on the Land Bill, and it was reported to the House in a tumult of cheers. Just afterwards I came out and they kindly gave me another ringing cheer. . . .

The strange arrangement of Dean Stanley's funeral, which is to begin at 4 and last until 6, entirely shuts me out from the power of attending.

H. OF C. *July 29 1881*

I write on the forty-sixth and last day of the debates on the Irish Land Bill—The Opposition have exhibited the most ludicrous divisions. Lord Randolph Churchill, with violent personalities, and Elcho without them, went vehemently against the Bill, and resolutely forced a division. Gibson made an elaborate and vehement speech against the Bill but thought prudence the better part of valour, and went off with most of his friends. Upon the whole it was an edifying spectacle. Russell, M.P. for Aylesbury, chastised R. Churchill with much severity. I was very short with him and not over civil.

LONDON *July 30 1881*

The Bill passed last night as you will see—There were circumstances of annoyance to the House rather than the Government. We indeed had every reason to be gratified: and I in particular have been enormously overpraised. I do not remember such a case. I believe that many prayers from many hearts have upheld me: and I have been helped by the hope that it would be my last labour of the kind.

10 D. ST. *Aug 3 1881*

I have just escaped from a Bradlaugh ovation—At twelve anticipating a crowd I crept down with Herbert and R. Grosvenor¹ by St. Margaret's churchyard, but between 5 and 6 I found Palace Yard delightfully and unusually quiet and my poor eyes did not (see) there were lots of people round the gates—so I had nothing to do but walk up with a tremendous tail, lots of police, horses disturbed, and the like. . . . Bradlaugh now stands as another impediment in Parliamentary business—Progress in Supply is but indifferent.

10, DOWNING STREET, *Aug 23. 81*

I purpose to go down to-morrow by the train between one and two. Should there be any change you will hear by telegraph. But Parliamentary business looks healthy enough to allow me to entertain the idea of going. There is a horrid rumour that some Irish mean to lengthen the Session by talking out the business to-morrow till six and so driving some

¹ Lord Richard Grosvenor, afterwards Lord Stalbridge, then Liberal Whip.

necessary work over until Friday—but I hardly think they can descend to so indescribable a proceeding with the motive which is alleged, namely that of getting a fresh weekly salary for their press-work (in which many of them are engaged) by getting over into another week.

10 D. ST. *Dec. 1 1881*

The Queen asked kindly after you and was altogether very gracious. She gave me most satisfactory letters to read about the Leopold marriage, and the young Princess appears to be a right good girl with a right good mother. It will not take place until after Easter. . . . She thinks the Dean getting old fast and I do not feel sure that he is well doctored or that he does not overwalk himself he has now supports to his legs.

We have settled in substance the Army Dept affair and on the whole the relations are rather smooth.

The Royal dinner table does not grow in liveliness I fear.

Dec 2 1881. 10 D. St.

I have sat to Frith¹ to-day at an infinite distance in Bayswater and found Lady Lonsdale sitting also. Woolner² has been chosen by the City Committee to do the bust for the Guildhall.

10, DOWNING STREET, *Aug 26. 82*

We are all much pleased and very thankful for the news of Sir Garnet Wolseley's engagement. It seems to show that the Egyptians will not stand for

¹ The artist (1819–1900).

² Thomas Woolner (1825–1892), sculptor and poet.

any thing like a pitched battle in the open field, and it still further improves the military prospect.

The Sultan continues his tricks and perfidy but we are in no way dependent on him. . . .

The Archbishop of Canterbury's¹ illness looks formidable, and comes on the back of a weak state of health. There have, it seems, been rumours of his resignation lately. The account at Lambeth is that this forenoon he was 'the same'. Nothing since then. The succession to him would be difficult to supply.

10, DOWNING STREET, *Aug. 28. 82*

Now I am off to the dentist.

Back from him at 4, after a *mauvaise demi-heure*, for in truth I have, I am sorry to say, probably as the consequence of severe brain-work, lost all power of bearing pain in the head, and it made me perspire profusely. But he is most careful and really gives wonderfully little pain.

Wolseley has fought no more but telegraphs to say that the effect of his actions of 24th and 25th has been much more than he expected: 10,000 of the enemy completely broken and dispersed—and the chief military adviser of Arabi a prisoner.

10 D. ST. *Sep 13 1882*

After a prosperous journey, only arriving $\frac{1}{4}$ hour late, I was met at Euston by the announcement of the taking of Tel-el-Kebir this morning, and not long after came official confirmation and details from Wolseley himself. . . .

The only *defect* in the victory is the escape of Arabi

¹ Archbishop Tait died about three months later.



GLADSTONE

OVERCOME WITH EMOTION WHEN MOVING THE ADJOURNMENT
OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS AFTER THE PHOENIX PARK MURDERS,
MAY 8, 1882

From the Drawing by Harry Furniss

personally as he may still be a nucleus of mischief. But some of my colleagues are disposed to look upon this brilliant success as conclusive of the whole matter. Whether that be so or not, it gives us profound cause for thankfulness.

The war has been undertaken in singleness of purpose, on behalf of justice peace and liberty, and its progress has thus far been conformable to its origins and its aims.

Sep 15 1882 10 D. St.

You will have received hours ago my stirring telegram of to-day: I send you some originals to show you the sort of thing that has been continually coming in since I arrived—arrived I was going to say the day before yesterday, but it seems hardly credible, so fast have the tidings been accumulated, each if possible better than its predecessor, and like wave upon wave. . . .

We are told that to the last the wretched Arabi tried to get up a conflagration of Cairo like that of Alexandria!

I have telegraphed and written, of course with the Queen's consent, offering peerages to the General and Admiral.

We have every hope that evacuation of Egypt may commence in a week or two!

The entire cost of the war to this country will I expect be between four and five millions. But it is a great stroke struck for public order, liberty and justice.

UNITED UNIV. CLUB *Oct 21 1882*

A stiff but good Cabinet on very difficult matters—first as to procedure and secondly Egypt, on which

the points were debated with great ability, especially by Northbrook, Hartington, and Harcourt—who avowed he had completely changed his mind on the most important of them since last night when, dining at Granville's, he had argued also with great ability the other way—But the questions are very delicate and difficult.

10 D. ST. Oct 22 1882

Last night I received at Granville's through Lady de Vesci an invitation from Lady Ailesbury to go to her home in Pall Mall to see the Life Guardsmen pass towards their barracks in Knightsbridge. The sight was beyond anything interesting and touching. Those magnificent young men, whom one's eye had ever associated with youth in all its buoyancy and pomp in all its brilliancy, rode past pale, haggard, and thin, and colourless, though upright and manly, in a degree you could hardly have expected: with the people affectionately following and touching the horses and bridles, bands playing at the head. I never saw a military procession so difficult to bear; I wished you had been there, but in truth I never should have known or thought of it had not Lady A. (who looks *so* young and well) kindly sent me the message.

To a cousin, The Rev. Divie Robertson.

DOWNING ST. Dec. 13. 82

I thank you very much for your congratulations and your interesting letter.

The kindness of your father to me at the time of my first Newark election was extraordinary but it was of

a piece with all his conduct towards me through a long course of years.

He must have been long past sixty at the time and was I think a man of the most regular and uniform habits of life but he at once conveyed himself into a full and noisy hotel and all the racketing and tumult of a contest of those days, which was I can assure you very lively.

We started on the canvass at eight in the morning and worked at it for about 9 hours, with a great crowd, band and flags, and innumerable glasses of beer and wine all jumbled together: then a dinner of 30 or 40 with speeches and songs till say ten o'clock: then we always played a rubber of whist, and about 12 or 1 I got to bed and not to sleep, for never in my life did I undergo any excitement to be compared with it.

My account of the day is faithful, except that I have omitted a public house tour of speaking to the Red Clubs with which I often had to top up after the dinner and before the whist.

Grave thoughts ought to attend this day¹ but I will not attempt to express them, but I warmly reciprocate all your good wishes.

10 D. St. Aug 20 1883

Mary² and I dine with the Reays. She³ is excellent company and so attentive and kind. There will probably be talk about Rosebery. He has been with me to-day. Hamilton,⁴ moved probably by Reay, pressed upon me that Rosebery was inclined to change his mind and accept. So he came to me to-day. But it soon appeared that it was the old story of the Cabinet and that he had no thought of accepting without it, but a very strong desire, unknown and unavowed to

¹ The fiftieth anniversary of his election for Newark.

² His daughter, Mrs. Drew.

³ i.e. Lady Reay.

⁴ Sir Edward Hamilton, *ante*.

himself, to accept with it. This reduced our conversation to a nullity, as that addition is impossible. . . .

I have been immensely busy with all sorts of things including the Italian Hymn¹ which is now after infinite pains settled to my satisfaction with very little real change from the first copy as produced at Hawarden.

10 DOWNING ST. *Aug 22 1883*

The last three days have been days of very great pressure what between late hours and speaking and occupation in and out of the House with two Cabinets and a Queen's Speech to prepare. I am therefore for the moment rather overdone and am going resolutely to take some comparative repose as I hope you are doing at Abergele.

I have now had two Cabinets and closed them for the time, having also sent off the Queen's Speech to Osborne.

Yesterday at 4½ I entered the House hoping to get out soon and write you a letter when the Speaker told me Northcote was going to raise a debate on the Appropriation Bill and I had to wait, listen and then speak for more than an hour, which tired me a good deal finding me weak after a sitting till 2.30 the night before and a long Cabinet in the interval. Rough work for 73!

10, DOWNING STREET, *Oct 26. 83*

I have been busy most of to-day with interviews, and have given another long quasi-sitting to Vitolo,² who seems a very clever fellow, and went away perfectly satisfied. Also I think Granville Spencer and

¹ *Senti, senti, anima mia*. Translation into Italian of Cowper's hymn, 'Hark my soul it is the Lord'.

² Uriele Vitolo, Neapolitan sculptor.

Chamberlain, all of whom I have seen, are well satisfied with the upshot of yesterday's Cabinet, when such objections as cropped up, with respect to the future, seemed at once to be lost in one smooth even forward current of opinion and feeling.

Among my employments of to-day have been 1. writing *by request* to recommend that Woolner should execute a statue of the Queen for New South Wales—and 2. declining an invitation sent me by the Speakers of the two Legislative Chambers, on behalf of themselves and the Chambers, to visit New Zealand. In fact I should say matters general look tranquil and rather comfortable—is this a sign of *coming* storms?

10 D. ST. Dec 31 1883

I got here all well soon after three and have had 2½ hours with Hartington—from whom I read a long letter on the way from Euston.¹ The best thing I can say is that I think he is a good deal puzzled and does not quite see his way. I have pressed upon him that he is bound to recommend an alternative to the Cabinet: this I think he feels and there will probably be a Cabinet on Wednesday. I cannot tell what H. will do but I fear the odds are the wrong way—After sitting with me 2½ hours he went to Granville ostensibly to talk about Egypt but an hour has passed and I have not seen G. so that I am sure they have been on *the* subject also.

10 D. ST. Jan 1 1884

Granville's first view of the Hartington case was *one shade* less dark than mine: he had another interview

¹ On the franchise and redistribution.

later in the evening which slightly improved that shade. He desired more time which in itself is rather a good sign. The Cabinet therefore will not be held till Thursday. But if things go well I have every hope of clearing out by the end of the week, so that your birthday shall not pass, or shall not pass wholly in my absence. . . .

I dined with the Speaker. Oh how Lady Brand 'lets down her leg'.¹ They are packing in preparation for the move. She only wishes the Peels may be as happy in that House as they have been. *He* was strong on the impossibility of omitting Ireland if anything is done about the Franchise.

10 D. ST. Jan 3 1884

A word to the wise is sufficient, and I trusted you to comprehend the full meaning of my telegram this forenoon. It is indeed true and we cannot be too thankful for it, that the great affair with Hartington looks now as if it would be settled. I have been as you may suppose pretty busy, but now after a long Cabinet on affairs oversea I am looking to another Cabinet to-morrow to settle this matter of the Franchise and wind up all Cabinet business.

10 D. ST. Jan 4 1884

I had interviews this morning with Chamberlain and Hartington, then went to the Cabinet which is now over. All is settled, with general and for the most part lively satisfaction and we are perfectly united in our course of action. . . . I have to be thankful for

¹ 'To moan or make the worst of oneself . . . to be sorry for oneself,' *Glynese Glossary*.

a short but lively and satisfactory campaign—I never had a pleasanter interview with Hartington than this morning.

In 1885 whilst an Anglo-Russian Commission was engaged in delimiting the Afghan frontier Penjdeh was attacked and occupied by the Russians. As a result war between England and Russia appeared imminent, and Gladstone at once asked the House of Commons for a vote of credit which was passed with acclamation from both sides of the House. Eventually the two countries agreed to arbitration.

HOLMBURY *Ap 8 1885*

This has been, I am concerned to say, a troubled and painful day of successive telegrams each one more grave than its predecessor. The upshot at present is that—as we are officially informed by our own people—the Russians have impudently and perfidiously attacked the Afghans in Penjdeh the main point they occupied and slaughtered two companies of them in their entrenchments. Of course we have sharply demanded explanations, and the Russian account may give a different colour to the proceeding, but at present it looks *very bad*. The Cabinet meets to-morrow.

D. ST. *Ap 9 1885*

For both of us there has been sad occupation since we parted, but how different! You are ministering comfort and sweet help to a Christian soul waiting its departure, its release—I am struggling amidst the sad details of conflict most bloody and most guilty, which may lead alas to more blood and guilt. You will see in the paper when it reaches you

to-morrow the particulars of the Russian attack on the Afghans and their defeat after a brave resistance. This account is conveyed in a statement of mine carefully made up in the Cabinet and authentic so far as it goes. God grant that the Russians may act with reason and justice in this affair. *If* they do, we have reason to hope that the negotiations on the frontier may go well.

D. St. *May 1 1885*

Rather oppressed and tired with the magnitude and the complication of subjects on my mind, I did not think of writing by the first post but I will now supply the omission by making use of the second.

As to all the later history of this Ministry, which is now entering on its sixth year, it has been a wild romance of politics with a continual succession of hairbreadth escapes and strange accidents pressing upon one another, and it is only from the number of dangers we have passed through already that we can be bold enough to hope we may pass also through what yet remain.

Some time ago I told you that dark as the sky was with many a thunder cloud, there were the possibilities of an admirable situation and result, and *for me* of a wind up better than I could at any time have hoped.

Russia and Ireland are the two *great* dangers remaining. The 'ray' I mentioned yesterday for the first is by no means extinct to-day and there is nothing new of a serious character—What there is is good.

So also upon the Irish complications there is more hope than there was yesterday although the odds may still be heavily against our getting forward unitedly in a satisfactory course.

The Harrow Governors have unanimously elected Welldon. Spencer has gone to Althorp for two or three days and will think over Irish matters carefully.

I went with Harry this forenoon to the Academy and saw half of it—it did not seem to me very good. I found [Lord] F[rederick] C[avendish]'s recumbent statue set too high to allow the eye to get a full command so as to pass a judgment on it.

10 D. ST. *May 2 1885*

What was a ray of light yesterday is a flood to-day, and the great Russian question is, according to all human probability, amicably settled—as far as the present stage, and the point of threatening difficulty, are concerned. . . . This great event—for such it is—will not solve the difficulties of the Govt connected with Ireland—on the contrary it may even increase them. But I see my own way with tolerable clearness. Many weeks I told you that what then looked so dark was of such a character that it might become very bright. There are now reasonable likelihoods of a general winding up of this Parliament and Government such as to be beyond all my most sanguine anticipation.

The answer came from St Petersburg this afternoon—the Cabinet was summoned at a moment's notice, and all were agreed in framing a reply which may be called one of simple acceptance—Praise to the most High.

HAWARDEN *July 2 1886*

The Leith business will show you that I have not been inactive here—Jacks former M.P. *attended my meeting in the Music Hall* and was greeted by me

accordingly—(He had voted against us after wobbling about much). Hearing by late post yesterday that waiting to the last he had then declared against us, I telegraphed down to Edinburgh in much indignation that they might if they liked put me up against him and I would go down again and speak if they wished it. They seem to have acted with admirable pluck and promptitude. Soon after midday to-day I received telegrams to say I am elected for Midlothian, and *also for Leith*. Jacks having retired rather than wait to be beaten. I told them instantly to publish this widely as it may do good.

I receive near twenty telegrams a day most of them requiring action. Requests even the most absurd are made to me—such as ‘Bright’s speech is doing mischief, reply to it immediately’. I answer *no* unless it states something with which I am concerned. Upon the whole I cannot see the advantage of my being in London. The absolute work may be nearly the same but I have dead quiet at night and the Church in the morning is an immense advantage.

HAWARDEN CASTLE, *Jul 3. 86*

To-day’s returns i.e. those in to-day’s papers are relatively bad but they are not *complete* as they ought to be—not including the uncontested seats as to changes. For instance the gain of Leith does not appear. But I think the chances now are slightly against us, i.e. the Tories *with* Seceders are not unlikely a little to outnumber the Government *with* the Nationalists. This sets me a ruminating much on what is to happen. I am afraid that without a majority it is far from unlikely that we may be kept in office until the October Session.

After the defeat of the Liberal Party Gladstone made his way to Tegernsee, in Bavaria, where he exchanged the din of political strife for the congenial companionship of Lord Acton and Dr. Döllinger.

FRANKFORT *Aug 26 1886*

. . . He¹ had got it into his head that I was going in Wolverton's yacht to Ireland for the purpose of making speeches and he wrote to Balmoral, upon being undeceived, to remove error there. . . Very much agitated about Bulgaria where however he can no more help himself than he can as to Ireland. For the Irish question will move, whether he likes it or not.

TEGERNSEE. *Aug 28 1886*

It is a wonderful change to be in a region where I have not controversy and contention for my daily bread. The only drawback is I find incipient decay of hearing much increases my difficulty in catching spoken words so as to know what they are. Of course this has been of little consequence while we had such a pilot as Lord Acton, but it may be a little more awkward on our return homewards.

We arrived here to dinner yesterday, i.e. at two o'clock, after having had time to spend an hour in the Picture Gallery at Munich where we were tenderly waited on by the brothers in law of Acton. We found Döllinger reading in the garden. The course of his life is quite unchanged. His constitution does not appear at all to have given way. He beats me utterly in standing, but that is not saying much, as it never was one of my gifts: he is not conscious (87 last February) of any difficulty with the heart in going up

¹ The Prince of Wales (King Edward VII) then at Homburg.

hill. His deafness has increased materially but not so that he cannot carry on very well conversations with a single person. We have talked much together even on Disestablishment which he detests, and Ireland as to which he is very apprehensive but he never seems to shut up his mind by prejudice. I had a good excuse for giving him my pamphlet but I do not know whether he will tell me what he thinks of it. He was seen reading it this morning. He rises at six and breakfasts alone. Makes a *good* dinner at two and has nothing more until the next morning. He does not appear after dark. On the whole one sees no reason why he should not last for several years yet.

The place and neighbourhood are in full beauty: morning and evening best for exercise on account of the strong sun, the mountain view is more beautiful than my memory had registered it. The villa is a joint property as is St. Martin and a house in Munich. I do not know precisely how they are divided. No difficulty about service: two good men, and the party was only five in all, increased to six to-day by the arrival of the son's English Tutor. He, called Dick, comes on Monday. Lehnbach also is expected.

We breakfast at 9½, dine at 2, and have a high tea at 8. I do not eat much then as I keep to the tea, but I shall do very well. My bedroom is the same which you had with a beautiful view. We have had no conversation yet about future plans. We are much pleased to hope, now, that this Bulgarian business may be quite over: it scarcely seems as if there would be pretext enough to enable Russia to interfere.

I shall be curious to see how my pamphlet is taken. If it circulates largely, this will be a proof that the interest of the subject is overpowering.

SCHLOSS ST. MARTIN *Sep 12 1886*

Yesterday we were up about four, and were breakfasting in the Belle Vue, Munich between 8.30 and 9. We stayed some hours, chiefly spent by me in sitting to Lehnbach, who has painted Pope, Crown Prince, Queen of Italy, and I know not who. He was so mightily pleased with me as a sitter that you would have really thought I was a beauty. He is most positive in asserting he will give me a picture, which I protest against.

SCHLOSS ST. MARTIN *Sep 15 1886*

Harcourt wrote urging me to be in London not later than to-morrow, but he really had no case, as all the evidence pointed to a day not earlier than Monday for the second reading of Parnell's bill.¹ The Bill having been remodelled so as substantially to meet my views, it is clearly right that I should come to vote for the second reading: and our plan is to start on Friday night. . . . Yesterday and Monday we had rapid and pleasant drives: one to an Abbey where the Abbot spoke his German so that even I could hear it, declared himself a strong Home Ruler, and asked all about the first and second reading of Parnell's Bill. The monks lead rather a jolly life: one superintends the shooting arrangements, another the kitchen—a door opened in a corridor out of which came I thought a very good smell. Singularly enough, this Abbot had heard that the Italians were going to destroy Monte Cassino, when the English interfered and saved it as an establishment of letters.

¹ Tenants' Relief Bill.

H. OF C. S. 21. 86

Last night there were disagreeable rumours as to the possible prolongation of this debate, but they seem to have passed away, and the division is considered certain to take place to-night. I have heard nothing new about numbers. It is really a preparation for the future stages of the question, in which we are now engaged. Morley has just made a good speech. Hartington is going to speak, without doubt for the Government, but it will be after post before he sits down. Matthews¹ is clever enough, but I should say as dishonest a speaker as I ever heard in the House of Commons, and not unworthy to be the ally of Randolph. . . .

Acton writes to say Bishop Strossmayer² may make a journey all the way to Hawarden, and it seems that Acton may even accompany him which would make it much more manageable. His coming would be a great compliment, and cannot be discouraged or refused—it would however be a serious affair, for he speaks no language with which as a spoken tongue we are familiar, his great cards being Slavonic and Latin. Unfortunately I have a very great increase of difficulty in *hearing* the words spoken in foreign tongues, a difficulty which I hope has hardly begun with you as yet.

KEBLE COLLEGE, OXFORD *Apl 6 1888*

Am much exercised in mind about Robert Elsmere: strongly impelled to review it, but impeded by a strong feeling of being unequal to the work.

¹ Henry Matthews, afterwards Lord Llandaff (1826–1913), then Home Secretary.

² Joseph George Strössmayer (1815–1905), Croatian bishop and politician.



IN HIS STUDY, 1896
*From a snapshot of Gladstone, editing the works of Bishop Butler and unaware
that he was being photographed*

KEBLE COLLEGE, OXFORD *Ap 8 1888*

On Saturday I wrote a good deal about R.E. and shall probably persevere—as the servant at Bishopthorne said.

Mrs Ward is an interesting person: hurt and apparently surprised to find her book called an attack upon Christianity. Which she protests, and I have no doubt honestly, she did not mean: yet this state of mind is strange.

She has got her Catechism of half-research cut and dry, and does not appear to have read history outside the *negative* literature about the Scriptures.

UNIV. CLUB 11 *p.m.* Dec 3 1888

Arrived all right and off to the House. Got off my speech¹ of an hour. Balfour's reply kept me until half past eight: very bold, very wild, sticks at nothing; says the people of Ireland ought to be very grateful to him. . . .

I fear Bright is getting near the last gasp. The world will be emptier without him. God rest his soul.

ALL SOULS COLLEGE, OXFORD *Feb 1 1890*

Here I am safe and sound and launched anew on my University career, all my days laid out and occupied until the morning of this day week when I am to return to London. . . . I am received with infinite kindness, and the rooms they have given me are delightful. . . . Actually I have engaged to give a kind of Homeric lecture on Wednesday to the members of the Union.

¹ Criticizing the Government's administration of Ireland.

The Warden¹ and his sister are courteous and hospitable to the last degree—He is a Unionist.

The living here is very good, perhaps some put on for a guest, but I like the tone of the College: the Fellows are men of a high-class and their conversation is that of men with work to do. My only difficulties are eyes and ears, mistaking one man for another and the like.

ALL SOULS COLLEGE *Feb 2 1890*

I had a most special purpose in coming here which will be more than answered. It was to make myself safe so far as might be in the articles which 18 months ago I undertook to write about the Old Testament. This as you know perhaps is now far more than the New the battle ground of belief. There are here most able and instructed men and I am already deriving great benefit. . . . On Wednesday I have undertaken to deliver a Lecture on the points of contact between Assyrian Discovery and the text of Homer.

I am reading the Lessons and all sorts of things—such pranks.

HOUSE OF COMMONS [*circa Dec. 1890*]

Here I am engaged on the Irish Land Bill at a morning sitting: and I have only to report that the House is very apathetic, and the Bill likely to proceed with rapidity, which perhaps may be as well if it is to proceed at all.

It is a bad measure but the passing of it will tend to reduce the labour and difficulty of carrying Home Rule.

¹ Sir W. R. Anson.

The rapid sinking of Parnell in public opinion and in political importance is also to be set down to the good. The loss of his higher qualities to the country and to his country is a great one: he might have rendered great services with a personal character of another stamp.

H OF C. *Mch 23/91*

The account of Granville this afternoon at the door was that he was going on 'very nicely'.¹ This is a decided improvement on what I heard on Saturday evening. . . .

There is much general uneasiness about Newfoundland. Kimberley I think has been rather rapid in giving his opinion before it had become necessary. No one can yet say what course it will be proper to pursue. There may come a ray of light but at present it is a great puzzle.

18 P[ARK] L[ANE.] *Apr 11. 91*

The division about Opium last night was embarrassing for the Government. They will probably temporise with it and leave it to embarrass their successors also. I did not vote, nor did Harcourt, Stansfeld, Playfair, Forster or Shuttleworth who was for some time in the India Office.

Here is a very nice letter from Leveson. I think it evident that he gives up Oxford against his own convictions: it is a misfortune for any youth capable of and inclined to good: but one must respect his generous feeling towards his father's² memory.

I have been lucky about the affair of leadership in

¹ Lord Granville died eight days later.

² Lord Granville.

the Lords. Kimberley, Spencer, Ripon and Oxenbridge will meet here on Monday at twelve. And the entire party of Peers is summoned for Tuesday Ap. 14. It is of course difficult to get a room fit to hold them! but they will try to get into 29 Belgrave Square.

1 C. G. Mch 13. 92

It seems that the Standard regularly fell foul of Balfour on Friday. I am inclined to think that his handling of the Irish was a fatal preparation for the leadership. Continually mixing taunts and jeers with matters of fact, it *answered* to him (sic): the more uncivil he was to them, the more the Tories laughed and cheered: and his habit of speech has I fear been formed upon this basis. I am very sorry for it. Randolph I believe exults.

Mr. Armitstead dines to-day: old shoe,¹ and tame cat: also a man whom, from many points of view, it is *edifying* to see.

I have been reading Fleming's Sermon on the Duke of Clarence. It is *not* to my taste. But has had a very large sale.

Secret

OSBORNE Aug 15 1892

The world moves rapidly and on arriving here I found I had been outstripped by a telegram which, after all our mountain high difficulties, brought Rosebery's pencil acceptance.²

¹ 'A familiar and comfortable companion', *Glynnese Glossary*.

² Of the Foreign Secretaryship. 'So be it, Mentmore,' ran the laconic message.

So I have prepared a list of nearly the whole Cabinet, which will go forward.

I had an audience with the Queen very shortly after my arrival. She looked well but did not move in my presence—I imagine she does it with difficulty. I sat a little nearer to her than usual on account of deafness. She enquired for you with evident sincerity, and perhaps a touch of warmth. In all other respects the interview was carefully polite and nothing else. There is a great change since 1886; another lurch in the direction opposed to ours. I am to see the Prince of Wales to-night when as I expect the case will be different.

10, DOWNING STREET, WHITEHALL. *Sept 29. 92*

To-day we have had a Cabinet,¹ and, though I cannot say the difficulty is at an end, we are likely to adopt a measure which removes the immediate pressure and which we hope will injure nobody. This looks like a relief. The Cabinet meets again at 11 to-morrow. . . .

Rosebery has shown an immense tenacity, worthy of a better cause.

The Queen we are told is strong in his sense.

H. OF C. 6 P.M. *Mch 11. 93*

In my note of yesterday² I described the formal and menacing character of my audience at Buckingham Palace: but I ought to have mentioned that she inquired somewhat kindly after your health. But a painful sense of unreality pervades these conversations and the public announcement of an audience hoodwinks the public. . . .

¹ On the evacuation of Uganda.

² Letter missing.

Here [H. of C.] I have nothing good to report. The audacity of organised obstruction has reached a height heretofore unknown. The badness of our divisions yesterday, which has greatly worsened the situation, were almost entirely due to the absences of Irish members on a set of questions which in substance and reality belonged to the vital fortunes of the Irish Government Bill. These absences were not sixteen but twenty two: and our divisions instead of being 21, 22, 27, ought to have been 43, 44, and 49, which would have borne an entirely different aspect. . . .

As the little children say, I think I must now come to an end: in truth I write amidst much distraction and can hardly say whether there is anything in the way of further news: except it be that Harcourt and Fowler¹ are gone to Windsor this evening, and that for once a Wesleyan Methodist will have to make his way back to town on a Sunday.

HAMS, BIRMINGHAM *Aug 29 1831* (sic—probably 1893)

We have been driving over to Drayton Manor which I had not seen for sixty years, and you never. It is only 7 miles off, and I had no idea of the whereabouts and gladly accepted the proposal to go. I very clearly recall the most important rooms and the collection of busts and portraits is interesting and most remarkable. I do not know any private house so rich.

There is a portrait of me painted by Lucas in 1843 for Sir R. Peel², which is hung in a bad light but

¹ Henry Hartley Fowler, afterwards Lord Wolverhampton (1830–1911), then President of the Local Government Board. He was the first solicitor to enter the Cabinet.

² *v. p. 52.* The portrait was afterwards purchased by Lord Gladstone of Hawarden and is now in Hawarden Castle.

appeared to be extremely clever and is thought well of there. I do not think there are any junior to me except his own children.

10 D. St. *Dec 18 1893*

Did you observe in a Lesson yesterday from Isaiah that both the priest and the prophet were he says taken with and overthrown by strong drink?¹

[BRIGHTON], *Dec. 24. 93*

I have been reading some of the new book on the lives of the two sisters Lady Canning and Lady Waterford.² Except one or two things about me which are most unjustly favourable, the account of Lady W.s latter and last days is indeed delightful. She remains like a beautiful star in a sky which has not too many. . . .

NB. Queen pleased about my action for Duke of Coburg³—a telegram of thanks—not in cypher.

And now the final letter—the last from Downing Street and the last to his wife. The suggestion of a peerage for Mrs. Gladstone, which it contains, did not appeal to either husband or wife, and was politely declined, much to the satisfaction of Lord Tweedmouth (the Marjoribanks of the letter), who must have voiced the opinion of many when he wrote that he was ‘very glad that Mrs. Gladstone is to keep her name unchanged ‘and to go down to posterity by the simple appellation we have ‘been so familiar with and which has been so dear to us all.’

Some years previously Mrs. Gladstone had been urged by the *Heralds’ College* to claim the baronies of Percy and Poynings, to which, by virtue of her Glynne ancestry, they held that she was entitled, and it is to this that Gladstone makes reference in his letter.

¹ Isaiah xxviii. 7.

² *Story of two Noble Lives*, by A. J. C. Hare.

³ In connexion with his annuity.

10 DOWNING ST *March 21 1894*

I have been working hard all day and it will be difficult for me to manage by to-morrow the clearing out from these rooms. Harry has not been able to be here for work to-day.

Marjoribanks has been here and has enquired on Rosebery's behalf whether it would be agreeable to us that *you* should receive a Peerage. It is thought there has been some suggestion from the Queen. I said that the subject must go to you for consn. and that I would write it to-day. For my part I look upon it with no favour but should not in any way press this. I should on all grounds very greatly prefer what would *cost* more, viz. the recovery of the old title to which you are supposed to have a good claim.

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